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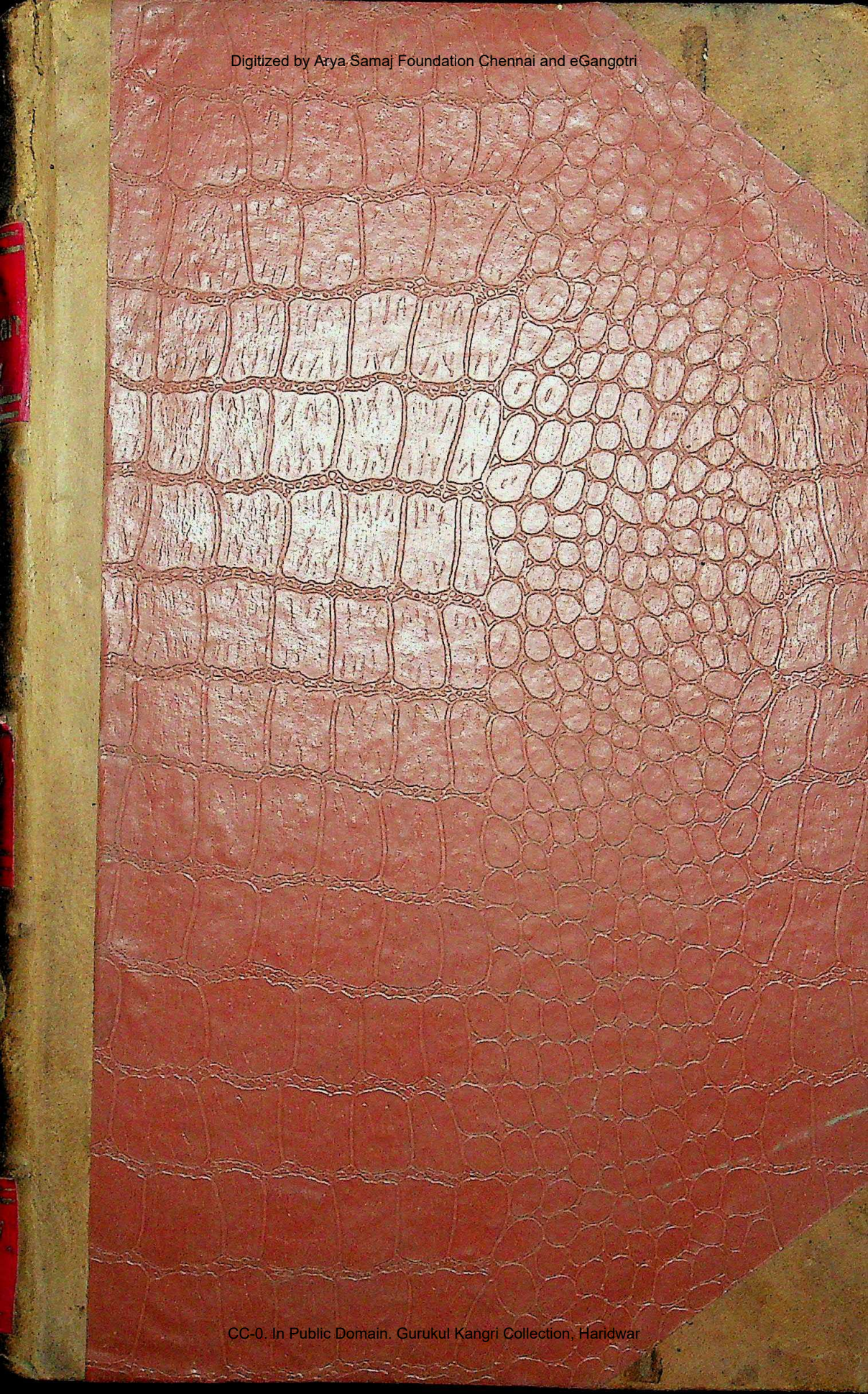

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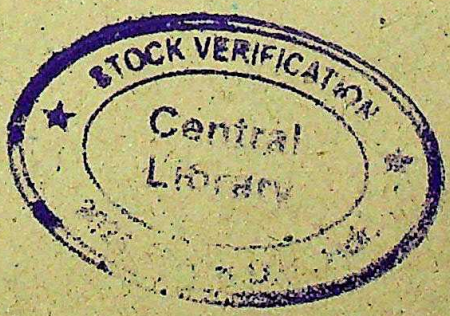

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Volume XXVIII.
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New Series No. 151.

THE

Hindustan Review.

Edited by SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, Bar-at-Law.

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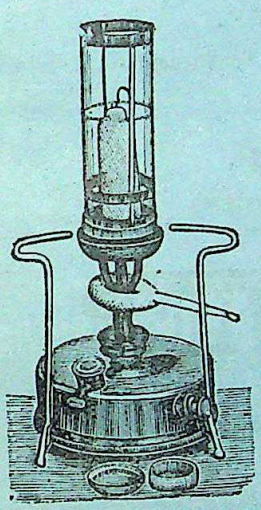

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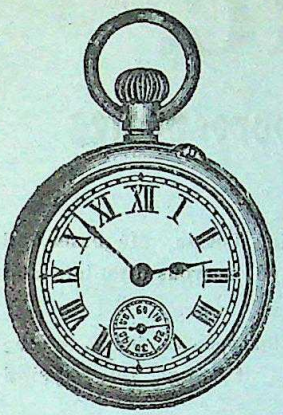

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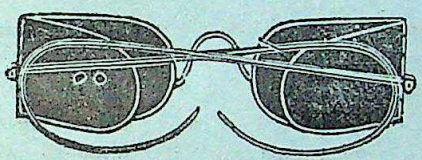

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Volume XXVIII. Whole No. 161.	JANUARY, 1913.	Old Series Nos. I—X. New Series No. 151.

GOLD OR SILVER—WHICH IS BETTER?

By the Hon'ble Mr. M. de P. WEBB, C.I.E. "(Author of *Britain's Dilemma.*"

WE have all read or heard of the story of Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp. By simply rubbing the lamp, Aladdin was able to obtain anything that he desired. A mysterious Genius aided by a myriad of slaves executed whatever orders he gave,—supplied him with choice food and beautiful clothing, built him a palace of unsurpassed magnificence, and even transported him in a few moments from the centre of China to the furthermost part of Africa.

We are accustomed nowadays to pay no more attention to this story than to any other of the fables that once appealed so strongly to our youthful imaginations. And yet the power that Aladdin possessed, was no more remarkable than that exercised by many mortals at the present moment. The cheque-book of the modern financier is a veritable Aladdin's Lamp—an instrument just

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as irresistible, as useful, and as gratifying as the mystic utensil of the Eastern tale. The magician of Lombard Street scribbles a few lines, and thousands of intelligent slaves appear in all parts of the world to do his bidding. He wishes to be transported both rapidly and comfortably to the uttermost corners of the earth: it is done. He desires a palace to be built in London, and another in Bombay or Calcutta: it is done. Canals are cut, railways constructed, steamers built, telegraphs laid, rivers deflected, and even mountains removed,—all as he commands. In short, there is hardly a scheme on earth which the ingenuity of man can devise, and the natural resources of the world render feasible, that the great financier of to-day cannot bring to pass, provided he possess sufficient money.

Which being so, is it not surprising that more attention is not devoted to the study of this most wonderful of human inventions? To the great majority of people the subject is an entirely closed book. Just as they imbibe the life giving atmosphere without a second's reflection as to its use, qualities, and composition, so, too, they take and give what money they can without a moment's consideration of the origin, meaning and possibilities of the all-important tool of which they make so constant a use. Whilst there may be good grounds for not worrying very much about the air we breathe, (which after all is one of nature's products), can we with equal confidence neglect all consideration of the monetary mechanism by aid of which our civilisation advances,—a mechanism which, the outcome of man's ingenuity, is, like every other man-made instrument, susceptible of further development and improvement.

India has been somewhat unfortunate up to the present with her monetary tools. Messrs. Samuel Montagu and Co., the celebrated London bullion dealers and bankers, recently reminded the world that "...silver rupees have been from ancient times the only coins familiar to the varied and populous nations of India...." This statement is typical of the general ignorance that prevails regarding India's monetary instruments. Of course, all who have given the subject a little attention, well know that gold *mohurs* and gold *pagodas* were current in certain parts of India long before the country came under the British Crown. But it is not everybody who realises that it was the British Government who practically abolished India's gold *mohurs* in 1853 owing to the belief (in those days of the wonderful Californian and Australian gold discoveries) that gold would seriously depreciate and perhaps become as common and as cheap as tin. Soon afterwards in the seventies, gold instead of

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depreciating in value, gradually appreciated: till by 1893, Government became so alarmed with regard to the future of silver, that they decided to abandon that metal, and establish India's currency on a gold basis. The Indian Mints were accordingly closed to the public in June, 1893, and in 1898 steps were taken for the further development of the policy of a gold currency for India. Sovereigns were made legal tender at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees and preparations made for the re-opening of the Indian Mints, this time to the free coinage of gold. Unfortunately, opposition from London prevented this essential development, and the Mints have not been re-opened to this day. With the result that India at present labours under the disadvantage of a "managed" currency of a kind that has been condemned long ago by all civilised nations, and that places her on a par, so far as the system itself is concerned, with such countries as Persia and China.

Repeated criticisms having at last induced Government once more to look into this most important matter, the questions of restoring to India (1) open Mints, and (2) gold coins are now seriously under consideration. The points that we must at once discuss and come to some decision upon, are:—Is gold money any better than silver money? And if so, why? Further, even if we admit that gold money is better for the whole of the western world than silver, is it suitable and appropriate for the people of India? Lastly, if we admit that gold coins are just as suitable and appropriate for India to-day as they were a century ago, what steps ought we to take to enable India to obtain a full supply of distinctively Indian gold coins?

To answer these questions correctly, we must start at the beginning and ask ourselves—What does money do? What part does it play in our present, every-day life? Firstly, money is our great Purchasing Tool. It is the instrument by means of which we can and do secure practically everything we want—of a material nature. How and why money has come to play this part, we need not now stop to enquire. The fact is that it *is* our every-day Aladdin's Lamp. It is a fact, too, that gold in this connection is a far more potent metal than silver. It is heavier, more beautiful, and in far greater demand than silver. Moreover, all the most advanced nations in the world have made their chief monetary instruments of gold, and hold their principal reserves in gold. And with the result that gold coins, and in particular, the British sovereigns, have a wider currency than coins of any other metal. In short, all the world

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recognises that for the chief Purchasing Instrument, gold is far better than silver, for the simple reason that it will command *more* goods and services, with *greater certainty* and over a *wider area of the earth's surface* than any other form of money yet invented. Clearly if India desires to rank with Great Britain and the Colonies, with the leading countries of the world, and with Japan, so far as its chief purchasing tools are concerned, it must demand the restoration of a gold currency.

But, it may be interjected, money has other functions than that of a Purchasing Instrument. True, money serves as a Store or Reserve of Purchasing Power. In England and, indeed, in all the most advanced countries in the world, the chief monetary reserves are always held in gold. The Bank of England holds its great metallic reserve in gold,—not silver. So do France and Germany. In India, where most people cannot write, where distances are so great, and where good reliable banks are comparatively few and far between, many of the people find it convenient and satisfactory to keep reserves of purchasing power in their own possession. As the years pass by and the country advances, this practice of holding private monetary reserves is gradually being abandoned. In the meantime, nobody could imagine for a moment that a reserve of silver is as good as a reserve of gold. The people have had one lesson in connection with their reserves of silver in 1893 when Government divorced the purchasing power of coined silver from that of uncoined silver and thus deprived the poorest and most ignorant masses of a portion of their reserves. For the people to run further risks by holding reserves of depreciating ninepenny silver discs when good, full-value, golden sovereigns can easily be obtained, would be the height of folly; and nobody with a knowledge of monetary history could honestly recommend such a course.

But money has still further functions than those of Purchasing Tools, and Reserves of Purchasing Power. Money is our Measure of Value, and also our Standard of Deferred Payments. It is the instrument that enables us to make comparisons between the values of this and that—rice being worth so much: ghi, so much: salt, so much: and so on. It is not a perfect measuring instrument because it is not stable. It is itself shrinking in value now, as a matter of fact—prices (*i. e.*, values measured in money) all the world over showing a marked upward movement. This general rise in prices is a grave misfortune to all fixed wage earners of small resources; but the only remedies possible are (1) to raise wages so as to counteract

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the effect of the rise in prices, and (2) to make more use of gold than at present so as to increase the demand for gold and so prevent its value falling still more and prices all over the world (including India) rising even higher. So here again we arrive at the conclusion that it is better to encourage the further coinage and use of gold money rather than silver money. To increase the supplies of metallic money in the world by adding vast volumes of silver coins to the already unparalleled volume of gold that is now flowing over the world and inflicting injustice on the multitude by raising price levels, is simply to add to the social and economic difficulties of the present day.

So far as its function of serving as a Standard and Instrument of Deferred Payments, everybody knows that the greatest money markets in the world—London, Paris, New York, Berlin, etc.—will not lend capital to borrowers who desire to repay the debt in silver. Gold money, and only gold money, is the recognised Standard and Instrument of Deferred Payments. By degrees, every country in the world has been forced to acknowledge the superiority of gold in this connection. India, notwithstanding that it has Great Britain behind it, is only able to borrow and repay in silver money from and to its own less advanced peoples. The reasons which have brought the world at large to the conclusion that gold money is a better Standard of Deferred Payments than silver are of the same nature as those which have led to its universal adoption as a Measure of value, a Reserve of Purchasing Power, and the world's chief Purchasing Tool, namely, it is more attractive, in larger demand, of greater convenience, of wider acceptance, and (so people now believe) of less variability in value as a monetary instrument than silver or any other metal. And so it has come to pass that all the most advanced nations in the world have decided to make their chief metallic monetary tools of gold rather than silver.

Shall India now follow suit and once more make use of gold money as she did a few generations ago? Or shall she continue to be the only great division of the Empire and, indeed, only great country in the world which still clings to the inferior monetary weapons of a bygone age? There are many standards by which the material progress of a nation may be gauged. One of the most significant, and at the same time most obvious, is its monetary system—the nature and composition of the monetary instruments in daily use, and the principles which guide the governing authorities in the issue, control, and development of those monetary instruments. Judged by this stand-

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ard, India is still a century behind the rest of the Empire and, indeed, behind the rest of the civilised world. This is the more to be regretted because there can be no question about the fitness of India for gold coins or her ability to pay for these first class tools. India enjoyed gold coins before, and she can of course use them again if she pleases. In spite of her vast numbers of small wage earners, there are a great many well-to-do people in all parts of India, who can, and will, all use gold money. There is reason to believe that if from Great Britain's total population be deducted the ten millions of small wage earners and the thirteen millions of casual workers who are known to be always on the verge of starvation, there are probably more well-to-do people in India who would regularly handle golden coins than in the United Kingdom itself. And as for the cost, that need not be even considered. A gold currency for India would not be any more expensive than a silver currency. Each year India sells to the world at large twenty or thirty or forty millions sterling or more worth of goods *more than she buys from abroad*. There is therefore a large balance due to her every year. How shall this balance be paid? In cowries, copper, silver, or gold? If in cowries and copper, then several shiploads can be sent to her. If in silver, a few thousand tons will be required. But if she demand payment in gold, then a much smaller quantity—smaller, that is, so far as the actual weight is concerned—will suffice. But whether the balance of trade due to India be paid in silver or in gold, the *value* of the payment made will be identically the same. So that the cost to India of a gold currency is neither more nor less than of a silver currency. Of course, for the convenience of those whose wealth would not permit them to handle coins of gold, fractions of the chief gold coins would be expressed in silver and copper as is done at present in the other chief countries of the world.

All which being so—the attractiveness and utility of full-value gold coins being far greater than those of token silver counters whilst the cost to India of a currency of either metal is exactly the same—it behoves India to take its stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of the Empire and to demand the same metallic monetary tools as those employed by the rest of the civilised world, namely, coins of gold. This much-to-be-desired result can easily be brought about (1) by every educated Indian demanding and paying gold currency whenever possible; and (2) by Government ceasing their present policy of checking the inflow of gold into India. At present Government prevents India from receiving as much gold as she

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might by voluntarily selling rupees in exchange for gold (paid in London) *at lower prices than it costs to import gold into India.* Of course, this artificial interference with the foreign exchanges hinders the flow of gold to India, and delays the day when India will be able to boast of as good a currency as England. At the same time, one fact is certain beyond all possibility of doubt. Directly India actively and practically demands a first class gold currency, she can be quite sure that she will get it. Northern India—especially the Punjab and the United Provinces—is already expressing its appreciation of gold coins in a very unmistakable fashion, and Southern India has commenced to follow the good example. The day of India's monetary salvation is close at hand.

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THE CENTENARY OF LORD CANNING'S BIRTH.

By the Rev. A. SLATER.

"HE had to lay down the lines for the future, not only for English sojourners in India, but for two hundred millions of native inhabitants; and his wisdom during the struggle and after it,—his calm assurance in the ultimate triumph of his country, his impartial mood, his unwavering resolution to be just, his hatred of violence and excess secured the result that the disaster left behind it so little that an Englishman need regret, or a native resent—that the breach between the conflicting nationalities, though deep and serious, was not irremediable—that extravagance and ferocity in the stern work of retribution were the exception and not the rule—that, as the flood of anarchy subsided, it left a rich soil with the materials of orderly progress and friendly co-operation, and that the generation, which followed the Mutiny, has witnessed European and native labouring, hand in hand, at the task of national development." A Governor-General who was able, after such a great upheaval as that of the Indian Mutiny, to settle the country in such a way, in spite of strong prejudices on both sides, as to enable both classes to live in peace and to combine in the advancement of the country's welfare, deserves well of both peoples, and he is deserving of the highest honours. The centenary of his birth affords a fitting opportunity for a brief survey of Lord Canning's contribution to India, the value of which is more clearly recognised now than in his own day. The time for casting contempt on this great man is past, and Indian and European unite in acknowledgment of Lord Canning's services to the country at one of the most trying times in its history. True his greatest achievement was the complete self-mastery he displayed in the face of grave charges against his administration, when blood ran high and men in all positions were inclined to allow their passions to master them, but there were other contributions to the progress of India that are deserving of attention, and any article, however limited it may be, would fail to do justice to his work which failed to give some slight outline of his energies in these directions.

On the 14th of December, 1812, Charles John, the third son of George Canning, the famous politician, was born. When he was ten years of age his father, who had angered the King by his refusal to prosecute the Queen, accepted the post of Governor-General of

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India, but a change in politics led to his remaining on the scene of his triumphs, when he became the leader of the House of Commons. After a few years in a private school Canning was sent to Eton and creditable accounts of his life there are given by contemporaries. There was no particularly distinguishing feature about the life of Canning at Eton but it is evident that in one or two branches he gained a very good position. His education was continued under the care of a Bedfordshire clergyman, an accomplished scholar, but in 1828 he was entered as a student of Christ Church, Oxford. Earl Granville describes Canning at this time in the following words: "Canning was like Hopper's Picture of his father as a young man—a great gentleman in character and demeanour. He was handsome, with singularly fine eyes. He was fond of sport, hunting and shooting, and especially fishing. He had extraordinary powers of continuous work for months and years, when the occasion arose, together with a faculty for being perfectly idle for long periods." He held several offices under the Government and as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Chief Commissioner for Woods and Forests, and Postmaster-General under two administrations, he seems to have given every promise of a successful political career. Lord Granville was the first to inform Canning that he was likely to be nominated for the Post of Governor-General of India, and he it was who kept Canning in touch with the doings of the Cabinet during his stay in this country. At the banquet given by the Court of Directors to the departing Governor-General, Canning surprised his audience by the wonderful breadth of view he displayed in his speech which was marked as one of the most notable utterances on Indian matters. It was dignified, weighty, and statesmanlike. "I know not," he said in conclusion, "what course events may take. I hope and pray that we may not reach the extremity of war. I wish for a peaceful time of office, but I cannot forget that, in our Indian Empire, that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances and a more precarious tenure than in any other quarter of the globe. We must not forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, which, growing bigger and bigger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin. What has happened may happen again. But if we cannot command, we can at any rate, deserve it by taking care that honour, good faith, and fair dealing are on our side; and then, if, in spite of us, it should become necessary to strike a blow, we can strike with a clear conscience." With such a view of his work in India, one cannot

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be surprised that his period of service should have been marked in a high degree with those qualities which make for the building up of a nation.

The Persian war was followed by the Mutiny. Into the causes and courses which this rising took it is not our intention to go, but it is rather our intention to show in what spirit Canning met the unequalled situation in a way worthy of his high character, and complete-self control. After the capture of Delhi, Lucknow, and other strongholds there was a great task to be performed by the Viceroy. In the country there were many elements. A wrongful settlement of the problem would be of untold harm to the country. How could he mete out justice, and at the same time combine with it mercy? How could he show his hatred of rebellion and at the same time gain the co-operation of those who had recently rebelled? Feeling ran high. Words were said that ought not to have been uttered, actions taken that would not have been dreamt of in ordinary times, measures urged that would have completely severed the Indian people from the Government. But through it all Canning, subjected to a storm of abuse from all sides, remained calm and quiet, refusing to take any step that would stain the British name and further alienate the people and landowners from the British rule. It is easy to understand the high feeling on both sides, but it is difficult to realise the hard position in which the Governor-General was placed. Posterity has placed its mark of approval on the actions of the Queen's representative, and even though loudest in their protests against his attitude, soon recognised the statesmanship he showed. He remained unmoved by the clamour and cries of those desiring stern punishment. In a letter to a friend he wrote, "As long as I have breath in my body, I will pursue no other policy than I have been following, because it is immutably just. I will not govern in anger. Justice and that stern, as inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and undiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India, as long as I am responsible for it." The citizens of Calcutta forwarded a petition to the Queen demanding the recall of Canning, preferring many charges against his administration during the Mutiny. But the Queen's answer was to appoint him her first Viceroy when the country was handed over from the Company to the Crown. It is strange, however, that the most serious of the attacks made against him was on the score of undue severity. This was in connection with his pacification of Oudh. The whole province had been in rebellion, and the problem of meeting out suitable punishment was

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a difficult one. Lord Canning decided that all punishment by death ought to be set aside, and that the one declared punishment was confiscation of proprietary rights in the soil. This penalty, however, was to be enforced with a very indulgent hand and remitted on timely submission or any other valid ground. Certain exceptions were made. "To those who come promptly forward and support the Government in the restoration of order, the indulgence will be large, and the Governor-General will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights." This Proclamation was made the subject of an onslaught by Lord Ellenborough, who seemed to lose all sight of the provisions made for remitting the penalty in the case of those who showed a readiness to come forward. No better evidence of the reasonableness of his action in the case of Oudh Talukdars can be adduced than the fact that within eighteen months Oudh was perfectly quiet and contented; and "no part of Hindustan was more flourishing or full of promise for the future. The ancient system of land tenure has been restored, but has been placed on a new and clear foundation. The preservation of the great families of the soil has been encouraged and facilitated. The rights of the occupants have been protected. Garrisons have been reduced, police diminished. The country is so tranquil that an English child might travel from one end of it to the other in safety, so thriving that its people have been the most prompt and liberal of all the natives of India in responding to the cry of their famishing brethren of the North-West."

The transfer of the Government to the Crown was an event of the greatest importance to the country, and the Proclamation of Queen Victoria is looked upon as the Magna Charta of India. As was to be expected the proposal met with some opposition but it was overruled and on November 1st, 1858, the famous document was read to the peoples of India. Its contents are too well-known to require repetition. All the details of the Proclamation may not have been fulfilled but none can question that as a whole the British Government has striven to catch the spirit of the words of the noble Queen. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." All classes of people were assured of the protection of their interests, and that in the framing of the new laws respect should be paid to ancient custom and usage. Financial difficulties now required

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the attention of the Viceroy. Even in normal times the deficiency on the Government was a considerable one, and the additional expenses incurred by the Mutiny led to almost a state of chaos in the finances. Feeling the task of revolutionising the finances an impossible one with all his other duties Lord Canning decided to seek help from England. Sir Bartle Frere was sent, and from the beginning the new comer was the trusted friend of Canning, and together they soon made a change in the financial situation. Their proposals met with great opposition in some quarters, the income-tax especially becoming the brunt for many attacks and criticisms. But the wisdom and tact displayed by the financier soon disarmed suspicion and helped to change the opinion of the European community toward the Viceroy. Other financial improvements were made and the Government was soon able to report a favourable balance. At the Durbar held by Lord Canning at Cawnpore he was able to set at rest the fears of the ruling families with respect to the danger of losing their lands because of the failure of heirs.

One or two changes in the Legislative Councils deserve notice as the changes were the first movements toward the Government of India by its own people. Experience had shown that there were many weak points in the constitution of the Council, so the Act of 1861 was passed, which gave the Council the form it at present takes, with a few exceptions which have been added in recent years. For the purpose of legislation the Executive Council was enlarged by additional members, not less than six nor more than twelve in number. Half of these must be unofficial, and among these there have been some of the most distinguished natives and leading merchants. By means of the Indian Councils Act it was rendered possible for much of the business which would otherwise have been delayed, to be passed. Lord Canning was a most conscientious worker, but this very quality was a drawback for the amount of undealt with matters accumulated to an alarming extent. By this Act the work was distributed among the various members and each had charge of a separate department. If the matter is unimportant the member passes final orders but in more serious matters the opinion of the Viceroy is sought. If he disagrees with the member the matter must go before the Council. Legislation with respect to the army was passed which led to fundamental changes.

The last days of "Clemency Canning", as he is always called, were saddened by the death of his wife a few months before his return to England after his work was accomplished. Her death,

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soon after her arrival at Calcutta from the Hills, was received with great sorrow all over the land. Throughout all the troublesome period during which her husband held the reins of Government she had been a great support to him, and her memory is cherished as one of the glorious examples of womanhood consecrated to the service of her country. Canning left in the March of 1862 but in the June of the same year his career ended. No man holding the high position of Governor-General has been the recipient of harder criticism than Canning, but on every hand he is now acknowledged to have performed a great work in pacifying the country after the great upheaval, and uniting men of all classes in the common aim of advancing the welfare of the country, and in introducing the new legislation with respect to the constitution of the Legislative Councils thereby opening the way for the active co-operation of Indians in the Government of their country. His name will always be remembered with gratitude and respect.

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JAPAN TO-DAY.—II.

By MR. HAMILTON HOLT.

IN no country in the world is there more religious freedom than in Japan. Three religions flourish—Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity. The latest statistics are as follows :—

Shinto Shrines	162,442
Shinto Ministers	14,836
Buddhist Temples	71,927
Buddhist Priests	51,268
CHRISTIAN CHURCHES :	
Roman Catholic	176
Greek	174
Protestant	1,132
CHRISTIAN MINISTERS :	
Roman Catholic	353
Greek	40
Protestant	1,494
CHRISTIAN COMMUNICANTS :	
Roman Catholic	64,118
Greek	31,536
Protestant	75,608

Shintoism is the indigenous religion of Japan. Its foundation stones are loyalty, and the worship of ancestors, heroes and nature. Shintoism is the religion of the Emperor and consequently is favored by the Government. Its moral precepts are taught in the schools. Buddhism is too complicated to discuss here, but its central doctrine is the "unity of all life and the brotherhood of man," while its ideal is "life made glorious by self-conquest and exalted by boundless love and wisdom." A Japanese can be, and often is, an adherent of both Shintoism and Buddhism. Buddhism alone of all the world religions has never carried on its propaganda by the sword. It is now divided into a great number of sects. Of late it has witnessed a decided revival in Japan. Tho' neither Shintoism nor Buddhism has the clear conception of a personal God that Christianity offers, the great man of noble character is held to be the direct impersonation of the divine spirit.

Of course, a large part of our sight-seeing was visiting the shrines and temples, many of them beautiful beyond description. I can never forget the Shinto shrines in woodland glades, which no human being ever enters, "where the many gaze reverently through the latticed windows into the twilight silence within, and where abide divinities and ghosts of noble men." Nor can I cease

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to remember the soft enchantment of the Buddhist temples—"the deep music of the great bells—the green peace of the gardens haunted by fearless things—doves that flutter down at call, fishes rising to be fed."

I shall be expected to say something about the present status of Christianity in Japan. Most travellers return from Japan either pro-missionary or anti-missionary. If they have made their head-quarters—as perhaps most do—in Yokohama and Kobe, and mingled almost exclusively with the foreign business men, they are likely to take the anti-missionary point of view. They will not get an anti-missionary impression, however, if they spend most of their time among the Japanese, as I did. While it is true that Christianity is probably not keeping pace with the growth of population, Christian ethical standards have already permeated the nation and universally incorporated into the Japanese social system.

Acceptance of Christianity, as such, has hardly touched the upper and lower classes. It has its footing almost entirely in the middle class. The students, as with us, are considered especially susceptible to its appeal.

The two chief hindrances to the spread of Christianity, aside from world-wide causes, seem to be the present diversity and antagonisms of denominations, and the quite obvious discrepancy between Christian profession and practice. When Christian nations offer themselves as moral leaders, after the rapacity with which they have established themselves in the Orient, the educated Japanese is tempted to smile at the incongruity. That the missionaries themselves have their discouragements and crosses will be seen from the following quotation from the presidential address of Rev. D. B. Schneider, D. D., at the conference last year of the Federated Missions;

While Christianity is making a little progress, other great forces like that of nationalism, the revival of Shintoism, the renewed activity of Buddhism, agnostic or anti-moral literature and practical materialism, that seem to work in deadly opposition to it, are gaining in strength. Moreover, the passing of leadership into the hands of the Japanese Church is giving us missionaries a secondary place and, to use a homely phrase, it is difficult 'to play second fiddle' enthusiastically. The encouragement also which we receive from the home land is not great. Japan, partly because of its small size and partly because of its advancement in civilization, does not appeal to the interest and sympathy of the Christian lands as do, for example, China, India and Africa, and the securing of the men and funds still needed here is specially difficult. More than this, a deep positive hindrance has come to Christian work in Japan through the persistent, the diabolical war talk that has gained currency in certain parts of America and we know not what may come yet. Also the more intimate knowledge which the Japanese people are gaining year by year of the moral and social conditions prevailing in the Christian West and of the thought currents of the great universities does not constitute to them an unequivocal argument in favor of Christianity.

At the present moment the Government is agitating the question of whether there may not be a common basis on which Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity can unite for moral ends. A conference has just been held, at the

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instigation of the Government, of the leading representatives of these three religions, and a tentative programme for united acton has been adopted. Tho' in the early days of the present regime most educated men shunned religion as unworthy of a rational mind, now it is generally realized that morality derives its greatest power from the sanction of religion. Hence the present movement for united action by the Government.

I now come to the supreme attribute of the Japanese people—their character. Concerning this there are many differences of opinion. Everyone in the Far East is either pro-Japanese or anti-Japanese. It is never considered necessary to consider a man pro-Chinese or anti-Chinese. This signifies, of course, that Japan dominates the Far Eastern situation, so whatever opinion one may express about the Japanese, a premium or discount is put upon it according to whether one is supposed to be a "pro" or an "anti." I admit, therefore, at once that I am pro-Japanese in my leanings, tho' I think I am not blind to certain Japanese deficiencies, as the reader will see later on.

I believe that President Scherer has made the best analysis of Japanese character when he says :

> The five fundamental perfected qualities that account for the wondrous Japan of to-day are : Bravery, loyalty, thoroughness, alertness, and self-control. The first two are qualities of the heart, the next two pertain to the mind and the last means the schooling of the will.

I shall never forget climbing up the steps of the battlefield of "203 Meter Hill" and North Fort at Port Arthur. Seldom in all history has such bravery been exhibited on the field of battle. The heroes who met their death storming the vertical front of 203 Meter Hill, and those who tied ropes to their feet so that their comrades could draw their dead bodies back after they went to certain death at the tunneling under North Fort, are typical to-day of the *bushido* of the ancient Samurai when that knighthood was in flower. Japanese bravery is such that suicide itself—which with us is the supreme act of cowardice—is glorified as the noblest act of self-abnegation. Suicide is not viewed as a cowardly escape from some personal dilemma, but as the most emphatic expression of personality. It is generally used as a last resort when all else has failed to move men to action against some great and impending evil.

The virtue of loyalty I have already referred to, as it manifests itself on the part of the people toward the Emperor and the Emperor to his ancestors. Loyalty, however, pervades all relations in life. The wife is loyal to husband, children to parents, servants to masters, etc. Perhaps the most famous story in all Japanese history is that of "The Forty seven Ronins," in which these forty-seven retainers deliberately murdered the noble who caused their lord's death, tho' they knew they would all have to commit harikiri for the offence. I visited the tombs of these Ronins in Tokyo, as every traveller does, and to this day the tapers are kept burning by wandering pilgrims

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in memory of the men who put loyalty above life itself. It was no idle traveller's whim that caused me to leave my visiting card at the grave of the leader of the Ronins, as I noticed the Japanese visitors were doing.

In alertness and thoroughness the Japanese also excel. It is the universal testimony of foreign teachers that Japanese learn more quickly than other nationalities. In California I was told that the Japanese laborers are the quickest on the coast to adapt themselves to American conditions.

I was greatly impressed by the perfection of the "Tenyo Maru" and the "Shinyo Maru," the two giant steamships of the Toyo Kisen Kaisha (Oriental Steamship Company) that took us, one to Japan and the other home. These boats were made from stem to stern by the Japanese, and no Atlantic liner of their class could be better constructed or appointed. Moreover, the detailed forethought and attention that was given to make the voyage safe, agreeable and comfortable was far superior to anything I have ever experienced on the Atlantic.

But perhaps the thoroughness of the Japanese is best exemplified in the Russian war, when their power of planning and combining details which had never before confronted the mind of man clearly indicated the tissue of their minds.

Their self-control is a trait that impresses every one. One of the most interesting talks I had during my trip was with a young grandmother of forty, who would not admit that we Americans excelled the Japanese because we were demonstrative with those we loved and communicated our happiness to others by freely expressing it. I frankly admitted that the Japanese were superior to us in their ability to keep their sorrow to themselves and not burden others thereby, but she thought the Japanese way of repressing both pleasure and pain showed the nobler character. As Professor Reinsch says:

"The moral grandeur of suppressing the strongest passions and affections of the heart and obeying without a murmur the dictates of duty will always move the Japanese to the point of causing them to shed tears, even when the conflict is presented only in poetry or on the stage."

No Spartan woman ever made sterner sacrifices than the many Japanese wives, who during the Russo-Japanese war committed suicide so that their husbands at the front would not have to waver between home and country in the battle's crisis.

To bravery, loyalty, alertness, thoroughness and self-control, the five Japanese virtues mentioned by President Scherer, I would add politeness, cleanliness, cheerfulness, contentedness and estheticism.

Japanese politeness is renowned the world over. Not even the French can surpass them in that respect. Such pretty, genuine and universal courtesy from all classes, high and low, I have never experienced. In cleanliness no people in the world approaches them. It is probably not very far from the truth to say that every Japanese man, woman and child takes a hot

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bath every day. Going over to Korea from Japan I went down into the hold of the steamer about midnight. There were 300 or more third-class passengers fast asleep, all packed in like figs in three tiers of beds. Tho' the only ventilation came from a skylight above, the room was as fresh and odorless as the deck above. Those who have visited the steerage of any transatlantic liner, even the best, will appreciate this novel experience.

The cheerfulness and contentedness of the Japanese are as apparent to any visitor as their politeness and cleanliness. Every Japanese has a perpetual smile on his face. He has schooled himself to be contented.

I have already spoken somewhat of their estheticism in reference to art, architecture, painting, etc. I shall only refer here to two further incidents. I went to the chrysanthemum shows in both Tokyo and Nagoya. In both places the halls were literally packed with poor people who had paid good money to see nothing but rows of potted chrysanthemums. On the railroad from Kyoto to Tokyo we suddenly came in sight of Fujiyama—the Peerless Mountain of Japan. There were some thirty Japanese in our compartment. Every passenger on the opposite side of the car moved across the aisle, and then the entire cartload gazed in rapt adoration at the sacred mountain during the half hour we were skirting its base.

So much for the Japanese virtues. But have they no vices? Your anti-Japanese friend says, "conceit and deceit." The missionaries say immorality, tho' from all I have heard on this subject I should say that the only difference between conditions in Japan and the United States is that we hypocritically bury our head in the sand and insist that we are virtuous, while Japan has actually abolished vice from every city except in the open, segregated quarters.

Dr. Julius Soper, for many years a distinguished missionary in northern Japan, thus tried to draw the balance between the good and the bad when he said in a sermon I heard him preach on shipboard coming home:

"If within the next fifty years the Japanese become as ethical as they are esthetic, as honest as they are polite, as virtuous as they are chivalrous, as philanthropic as they are patriotic, they will not be surpassed by any people of the world, of whatever clime, of whatever race."

Dr. Jordan, of Stanford University, who was in Japan while we were there, gave this interesting reply to the question "What has Japan to learn from the United States?"

"The value of individual initiative and individual adequacy, that equity is higher than courtesy, that the cure for vice is not found in prohibition but in the strengthening of the moral backbone of the individual man: that woman must be trained to wisdom if homes are to be the centers of culture, and purity; that the final end of education is not official promotion nor personal culture, not the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake, but the development of personal effectiveness."

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But after all the noblest trait in the character of the Japanese is their willingness to change for the better whenever they perceive their inferiority. This adaptiveness is not blind imitativeness, as is so often charged, but rather selectiveness. Japan does not take the bad with the good, but only the good which she grafts on to her own peculiar civilization, thus gaining a syncretism that is as admirable as it is unique. Whether Japan can preserve this noble trait of character as her intercourse becomes closer with other nations, time only can tell. Count Okuma, Japan's greatest living statesman, already sees a change. Says he :

It is a question whether as a people we have not lost fiber as a result of the many new influences to which we have been subjected. Development has been intellectual not moral.

I have spoken at some length of the qualities of mind and heart in which it seems to me the Japanese people excel. I shall now take up in some detail the four departments in which they seem to be still deficient.

There is no doubt that business morality in Japan is generally lower than in the West. The testimony of foreigners doing business in Japan is almost unanimous on this point. The chief complaint is that the Japanese have two prices for everything, and that they have but a rudimentary sense of the obligation of a contract. I was told, for instance, that it was a common thing for a house-builder to refuse to carry out his contract if he found he had miscalculated on his estimate and was not going to make a profit.

There are mitigating considerations, however, that should be taken into account. Before the Restoration the business men constituted the most despised class in Japan, except the criminals. Under feudalism the classes were graded as follows : 1, The Emperor, above all ; 2, the nobles ; 3, the Samurai ; 4, the farmers ; 5, artists and artisans ; 6, the merchants and traders ; 7, the criminals and outcasts. When the community despises a man he naturally comes to despise himself. In olden times the merchant was expected to cheat a little and he naturally did not rise above the expectation. But with the advent of new Japan, with its elevation of the merchant class, there has been a radical change for the better, so that now, if the petty merchants still need some improvement, the great merchants and financiers maintain commercial standards as high as elsewhere. For instance, the manager of one large English company, whose business extends over the entire world, says that his losses on Japanese sales are only 1 per cent., as against a general loss of 5 per cent. in other nations.

I am convinced, however, that some, if not much, of the feeling on the part of foreign merchants against Japanese business methods is a result of conditions not entirely discreditable to the Japanese. I was greatly astonished, especially in Yokohama and Kobe, to see evidences of the most narrow race prejudice against the Japanese by men who are making a living among

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them. I met one young clerk, for instance, employed by one of the largest foreign firms in Japan, who railed against the Japanese as only a Vardaman could against an educated negro. I do not see how a firm could have a less valuable employee, or how a young man could expect to make a business success by starting out in life berating those whose goodwill is essential to his ultimate success.

The foreign business men in Japan are also apt to deal with Japanese of a lower business grade than the firms they represent. Usually only the largest, richest and most substantial foreign houses attempt to do business abroad. Their representatives in Japan are likely to deal not with the Japanese firms of equal size and responsibility, but with hundreds of petty merchants and artisans with little or no capital. No wonder these small traders have not attained the same business morality that the foreign houses have which buy and sell with them.

Another reason that undoubtedly contributes to the disgruntlement of the foreign business man is the simple fact that the Japanese are taking the business away from him. I have obtained some very interesting figures on this point. Not many years ago the bulk of export and import trade centering in Kobe and Yokohama was in the hands of foreigners. In 1906 the Japanese had got 46 per cent. of it; in 1907, 47 per cent; in 1908, 49 per cent.; in 1909, 51 per cent., and in 1910, 54 per cent.

Not only are the Japanese merchants getting the foreign trade into their own hands but the Japanese manufacturers are doing likewise. The Japanese have not only the great advantage of cheap labor and a really marvellous ability to imitate, but they have a government that aids them on every hand. The Government of Japan deems it as much a part of its function to help business as agriculture or education. I can see no reason, therefore, why the Japanese should not soon become successful rivals of any manufacturing nation in the world.

The second deficiency in Japanese life to-day is in respect to the status of woman. The woman occupies an infinitely higher position in Japan than in India, China or Korea, she has not yet achieved the same rights and privileges that she is accorded in the United States and in some other European nations. It would probably be a fair comparison to state that men have as much more consideration than women in Japan as women have than men in the United States. Japanese women, however, are in no sense opprest. On the contrary, they are kindly treated and apparently do not miss the legal and social rights of their Occidental sisters. Still, from every standpoint they hold positions inferior to those of the men.

A Japanese sage writes:

The five worst maladies that afflict the female mind are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy and silliness. These five maladies infect seven or eight out of every ten women and it is from these that arise the inferiority of women.

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Another sage, writing on "The Whole Duty of Woman," remarks:

The great lifelong duty of woman is obedience. . . . Should her husband be roused at any time to anger, she must obey him with fear and trembling, and never set herself up against him in anger or forwardness. A woman should look upon her husband as if he were Heaven itself and never weary of thinking how she may yield to her husband and thus escape celestial castigation.

The Japanese women are, accordingly, gentle, submissive and devoted. They are not kept in seclusion, but come and go as they will. Still, it is universally felt that their place is at home with the children. Social life is largely a masculine affair, and, while the man goes out to dinners and entertainments as often as he likes, the women are supposed to stay at home. Several of the Japanese ladies told my wife they were delighted that she accompanied me, because that meant that they could go with their husbands to dinner parties and receptions given in our honor.

Such a thing as a suffraget movement in Japan would be absolutely unthinkable at the present time, not that anything would happen to a woman who suggested it save possibly ostracism. Of course the condition of a large class of unmarried women, which is so urgent an argument for suffrage in England, does not exist in Japan. I met only one unmarried woman over twenty-five all the time I was in the Orient. But that the position of woman in Japan is in need of some improvement is disclosed by the following facts:

A husband can divorce a wife at any time with her consent, or without her consent, for adultery, forgery, theft, robbery, embezzlement, receiving stolen property, desertion, cruelty, or if the wife mistreats his or her ascendants. A woman cannot marry under twenty-five without the consent of her parents. A wife must live with her husband and is as equally bound to support him as he is her. The husband has the right to manage all the wife's property, and in case of divorce has the custody of the children.

The life of the little girl in Japan must be ideal, for Japan, as every one knows, is the children's paradise. The old women have also a happy and contented time, judging from the respect and attention universally shown them. But from marriage till grandmotherhood the lot of the average Japanese woman is one of care, responsibility and self-abnegation.

The third deficiency in modern Japan is in regard to the organization of labor. According to Sydney Webb, who was investigating labor conditions while I was there, Japan is in the same condition to-day that England was 150 years ago. Industry is still mostly done in the home. Japan is not far removed from the economic stage in which an article is made by hand in the back room of a shop and sold by the artisan himself in the front. Of course, factories are springing up on all sides, and are already exerting a great influence on the economic life of the nation. But it will be seen how far Japan is behind some of the other nations in this respect when it is realized that

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there are no labor unions in the Western sense of the word in Japan to-day, and the first factory act ever enacted in the Empire dated from last year. This act is, of course, a step in advance in that it is the first national recognition that the employees require protection by the State against the unlimited exploitation of their employers. The act, however, will cause a sneer from the cynically disposed, for some of its most important provisions may be waived for fifteen years. It limits, however, the work of women and children, and that is a great step in advance. No child under nine can be employed in a factory and no new children under eleven accepted for employment, tho' both these rules have exceptions. No children under fourteen, or women, except those in the regular night shifts, can work from 10 p. m. to 4 a. m. Apparently any male of fourteen or over can be worked as long and as hard as he is willing.

While long hours are not especially bad for farmers or artisans who are masters of their own business and time and can change occupation or rest when they get tired, they are invariably bad for workers in a factory, where respite from the monotonous grind is permitted and where speeding up to the last ounce of power is the rule. In a factory the inevitable tendency is to make the worker a machine. Until the employers have achieved a much higher degree of altruism than they have in Japan or anywhere else drastic laws are needed for the protection of the workers against undue exploitation.

I visited several factories in Japan, principally cotton, silk and dyeing establishments. The operatives were predominately women, most of them apparently girls of about sixteen to twenty years old. I saw many little girls at work that I could have sworn were under ten, tho' I was told that appearances are apt to be deceptive. I saw no old women at work. Agents go out among the farmers and through presents and saké obtain their consent to send their girls to the factories. The girls for the first two or three years are apprenticed and earn practically nothing besides their board; after that their wages rise to an average of 15 to 25 cents a day.

I copy herewith an entry from my notebook which I made after visiting one great factory:

Muslin factory, one of the largest in Japan, employs 3,000 girls. Considered model. Hours 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., day shift, and 6 p. m. to 6 a. m., night shift. Highest wages 40 cents per day; average, 20: lowest, 10. Meals cost 6 cents per day. Company paying 2 cents and girl 4 cents. Girls look heavy and sodden. Two main types of work rooms, one where girls walked monotonously back and forth threading bobbins, other with frightful clatter of machines where girls stand up all day on cement floors. Floors said to get very cold in winter. Air bad and filled with dust. Girls have after work two study hours! Dormitories at back of factory. Each girl allowed 6 × 3 feet space in sleeping room. I counted eight night-shift girls asleep on floor of one small room in afternoon. Heads resting on usual Japanese wooden blocks for pillow. Sunlight streaming thro' the windows. Good baths and pretty garden for recreation, but no girl can leave compound without permission. Two holidays a month. Theatre on grounds where entertainments can be given. Rooms provided for visiting parents.

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In another factory I saw operatives eating their dinner while working at their benches, one hand using the chop-sticks, the other attending to the machine. In another I was told that the men do not leave the shop day or night, but sleep and eat on the matting strewn among the machinery and tools.

I was told by a professor in one of the leading universities that 20 per cent. of the girls become enfeebled and unable to work after one or two years in the factories and have to return home. One half of those who have to leave have contracted consumption. Another professor made the following assertion and I quote his words directly as I took them down in my note book.

Girls in factories are punished corporally, shut in dark closets, fined and have their rations cut down for various offences, but conditions are better now than they were years ago, tho' these practices still continue in some places. One punishment consists in stripping girls naked (save for a loin cloth), tying a red flag on their back and their hands behind them, and then marching them about among other employees (male and female) as an object of ridicule and ignominy. Of course the Japanese themselves recognize these conditions are bad and factory inspectors go about all the time to prevent such abuses, but there are not enough inspectors properly to cover the ground.

In the first annual report (1903) of the "Matsuyama Factory Girls' Home," of Kyoto, I find this sentence, which refers to the general conditions of the girls in Kyoto factories :

The majority of them could neither read nor write, their popular songs were indecent, they were crowded together in disease breeding and immoral boarding houses, where they were deliberately tempted to spend more than they earned. . . . The girls work in two shifts of twelve hours, from 6 to 6 ; they are required to clean up each day, so do not get out till 6-30 or 7. On days when the shifts change there is no work, but instead a special cleaning up is required and the girls who have worked all night are kept till about 10 a. m.

I speak of these facts simply to show that in changing from an agricultural to an industrial regime Japan is passing thro' the same conditions that have disgraced the industrial movement in Europe and the United States. But Japan is waking up to these conditions, and doubtless it will not be very long before she will have as rigid and wholesome factory laws as exist elsewhere.

At the present moment, however, it is a fact that 73 per cent. of the total workers in factories are females, and that sometimes, when business is brisk, they work eighteen hours a day, the average seldom falling below twelve hours. The Department of Agriculture and Commerce made inquiry into factory conditions in twenty-five prefectures and compiled the following table :

FACTORY WORKERS IN 25 PREFECTURES.

Age	Males.	Females.
Under 9	105	479
" 11	643	3,876
" 13	3,099	24,762
" 15	6,001	49,890
" 19	13,117	93,975
19 and over	58,933	116,542

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The average wages of skilled laborers are about one-eighth of the wages in the United States to one-third of the wages in England. The first labor union in Japan was started in 1897, comprising some 2,000 men, mostly iron workers and mechanics in Tokyo and Yokohama, but it soon died. There was an outbreak of strikes in 1907 throughout the country, but the capitalists easily won.

The socialistic philosophy seems to be gaining ground in Japan. I heard this from too many trustworthy sources to doubt the fact. There is no socialistic party, however. In 1899 an attempt was made to start a socialistic association. It was academic in character and included both socialists and and non-socialists. In 1901 the Social Democratic party was formed and a declaration was published, but it was dissolved by the authorities on the same day.

Ever since the recent attempt on the life of the Imperial family by some socialist-anarchists the Government has been very strict in repressing socialism in any form. Nevertheless, the labor and socialistic movement in the Occidental sense has hardly begun in Japan. What will happen after universal education has been in existence for a generation and when capitalism comes into its flower, as it has already done elsewhere in the world, remains to be seen.

The only remaining deficiency in Japan's present civilization seems to me to be lack of political power in the hands of the people. Considering, however, the short time that Japan has enjoyed a constitutional Government along Western lines, she must not be blamed too much for this. At the present moment the number of those possessing rights of suffrage, out of a population of 50,000,000, is only 1,582,256 in national elections and 2,434,256 in prefectural elections. The qualification for a voter in national elections is that he must be not less than twenty-five years of age and pay a direct tax of not less than $5 a year.

The general feeling seems to be that the next great political reform will be a movement for the extension of the suffrage, yet I am told that the Government does not even give a permit to the Universal Suffrage League to hold a mass meeting once a year. Of course until a far larger percentage of the adult population enjoy the franchise, there can be no such thing as popular Government in the American or English sense of the word. It must be confessed, however, that Japan has got along very well so far without extreme popular Government. Where in all history can be found an altruism on the part of the governing classes parallel to what happened in Japan immediately before and after the Restoration, when the Shogun, or *de facto* ruler of the empire, voluntarily abdicated his office in favor of the real ruler; when the feudal aristocracy petitioned the Crown to take over their estates and abolish their titles; when the Samurai, without bloodshed and even cheerfully, laid down their arms; and finally, when the young Emperor, thro' no compulsion or fear of revolution, granted his subjects a parliament?

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SINDH—II.

By Mr. J. NELSON FRASER.

OF the art of Sind however I will speak presently; I return now to her history. The epoch of Dalhousie found Sind, under the Talpur's rule, better off than some other parts of India. So far as I can gather, there was nothing in the country to compare with the disorder of the Deccan. The rule of the Mirs was old fashioned enough; they paid little attention to public works, but they were not tyrannical and most of their subjects, (especially the Mahommedans) lived in comfort under their rule. Those were worst off who were nearest to the Baloochi hills, from which parties of robbers came pretty often to harry them. Had Sind been elsewhere in India, it would no doubt have survived the epoch of annexation; but a combination of circumstances proved fatal to it. It lay on the route to Afghanistan, and the British reverses in that country made the Government of India very unquiet regarding the open flank of Sind. There was also a feeling in other quarters that the development of the whole of Upper India depended on the development of the Indus and the control of its mouth; while some impatient idealists thought that Sind (like Oudh) would step out joyfully under the banner of progress when a British administration headed the procession. These considerations are summed up in the language of Napier: "We have no right to seize Sind, and yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous humane and useful piece of rascality it will be." Napier puts the case in puzzling words, but no one has quite known what to say about it. I think its most vexatious feature is the disingenuous way in which the Mirs were bullied by successive treaties before they were actually dispossessed; as for the annexation, it is a piece of aggression no worse than hundreds which form the ordinary tenor of Indian history and may pass without comment. One may note that though less justified than any act of public policy in the history of British India, it has aroused less resentment than any other measure of the kind.

The episode is interesting for the famous quarrel between Napier and Outram, and the controversy over Sind conducted by their friends with so much bitterness. We can see now that they differed because Outram knew India and Napier did not; both were really men similar in character; brave, impulsive and unselfish, but passionately fond of glory, as their own age understood it. Glory to them however meant not so much decorations and homage as the inner sense of distinction and achievement. Outram in particular was a very modest person in speech and demeanour, but he was consumed all his life by a passion for dangerous and even foolhardy feats. Napier was more given to bragging and his thirst for glory sometimes shows too much like the vainglory which really he despised. We have to remember however that he was an old man when he conquered Sind, and, that ill health and some injustice had chafed his temper

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and overthrown his sense of proportion. Not knowing India he was of course much mistaken in what he thought himself to have accomplished there; the only thing that stands to his credit is a perception of Karachi's future and that connects her with the sea. The development of Sind was left after all to the civilians whom he despised, notably to Sir Bartle Frere; and the military reduction of Upper Sind fell to General Jacob.

Before I speak of Jacob I will only note the real sense and mastery of detail which Napier possessed. They are features one could scarcely look to find in so impulsive and eccentric a charater; but no paradox is impossible to human nature. Read for instance, Napier's memorandum on the camel, it is a little masterpiece of observation and common sense. Or read again his criticisms of the Indian army before the Mutiny :—"I may be in error; let after men judge; but to me it is as clear as the sun in the heavens that unless the East India Company keeps officers of high rank at the head of their regiments and more captains with companies, it will ere many years pass have cause for regret. Native officers will gain influence and finally *take* command." Veredictions of the future are so rare that this one should be noted.

Now as for Jacob, he is a man less famous than Napier, but in my judgment a more extraordinary and unforgetable man. He fought and died for England, yet he was not an Englishman, he is one of the unrecognised children of Israel. He is profoundly true to the jewish type; his character and life make one almost believe there must be something in heredity. He was a religious man without a religion, if the saying may pass; his sense of a vocation and his exalted confidence in destiny inspire him with a zeal hardly other than religious. War was the atmosphere of his life; I cannot think that he loved it.* Still less that he loved "glory," in the vain-glorious sense, but finding war inevitable, he spared himself all remorse over his part in it, and fought with hand and brain, fiercely, devotedly and incessantly. It was a rule with his troops that the news of a Beloochi raid found them instantly in the saddle, day or night; they feared neither thirst nor heat nor cold, no odds dismayed them and they never accepted defeat. They won no great victories, as historians measure such events; but their record of toil and strife for twenty years is one of the most memorable in the history of arms. Jacob himself spent thirty years in Sind without a furlough; he died near his own city of Jacobabad. He was never married, he viewed women (perhaps rightly) as an obstacle to the serious work of the world. In the little leisure he enjoyed he showed himself a mechanicist of no mean powers, he anticipated the invention of the rifle, and built with his own hands a famous clock. His writings, though modest in tone, evince literary power, one learns from them (and from other sources) that

* Few English soldiers have loved war. The Duke of Wellington abhorred it and Napier writes "accursed be those who in the House of Commons accused me of seeking war in wantonness."

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an incurable stammer greatly embittered his inner thoughts. Strange that he who won so many victories, who scorned to brood over scanty pay and scanty honours, should have suffered Fortune to triumph over him here. Yet all human nature has its foibles, Stonewall Jackson was never free from the fear of death and Byron never forgot his foot.

To Jacob and Frere modern Sind owes everything, at least everything that makes Sind different from what Sind of the Mirs would have been. These heirs of the past live now pretty comfortably at Haidrabad. They managed to save their jewels after Miani * and the British Government has made them a handsome allowance. Unfortunately, this allowance dwindles with each new generation, it being presumed that the Mirs will settle down as zamindars. The Miris however show no disposition to do anything of the sort, they lavish their means on favourites, vice and litigation, and it seems certain that their posterity will soon inherit from them nothing but bad habits and a name.

The present population of Sind, on a first glance, appear to present a common type. It is that of a very tall, long-limbed man, with strong features and rolling black hair. I have never seen so tall a gathering of men as a Sindhi crowd. They wear the baggy trowsers which serve Europe as a type of the Orient, though in truth they are Turkish or Central Asian, and not elsewhere to be seen in India. A picturesque dress; at once warm and airy; I hope the peasant at any rate will stick to it in Sind. The Amils wear European trousers, and also the well-known Sind hat, which however is disappearing. As for the character of the Sind peasant, it is much like that of peasants elsewhere, but curiously submissive, when compared to that of the Pathan or Baloochi. There seems to be nothing to account for this, as in Sind, more than elsewhere in India, the rulers have been akin by race and religion to their subjects and the history of Sind shows few tales of tyranny. Nevertheless, the Sindhi is, speaking generally, much what the Cashmiri is, a downtrodden creature.

It is time, however, to point out that, viewed more closely, the people of Sind break up into innumerable groups, of which the scantiest accounts would fill a volume. Among Mahommedans there are Persian, Arab and Afghan immigrants, and many quaint schismatic bodies that follow beliefs of their own. Some of these bodies show a bolder character than that of the common Sindhi, they are more truly sons of the desert and both singly or in groups take often to wild ways of life. The cattle lifter is still a frontier figure in Sind, and the old fighting days are still called periodically to men's minds.

Hindoos are distinguished so much by religious observances that their divisions must be treated as religious rather than social. But I may note the interesting group of Amils, chiefly resident in Haiderabad. A legend

* Without prejudice to Napier's case, I cannot help some satisfaction in recording this.

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concerning these makes them out pre-Mahommedan Persians who adopted "Hindoo" rites and the Sindhi language; distant cousins as it were of the Bombay Parsees. Like the Parsees they have risen under British rule; they had to order themselves very lowly and reverently towards the Mirs. Their chief trouble to-day is the enormous dowries which they persist in giving their daughters. A daughter is thus a family problem from the hour she is born; whereas sons are sources of prospective wealth.

I suppose this does not sweeten the lives of daughters, and in general woman appears throughout Sind to be kept severely in her place. You will see very little even of girls there, even in the smallest villages and the humblest circles of life. They move about in subterranean passages, I suppose. This does not prevent a great deal of jealousy, suspicion and murder. The right to murder your wife, on reasonable suspicion of her infidelity, is still claimed by popular sentiment; and indeed, in the case of Baloochis, is so far recognised by the British Government that the offence is punished by imprisonment. Regarding the merits of this system, of course, I cannot speak. It avoids some problems of existence and relegates to the future, so far as Sind is concerned, the Suffragette Fury. I may add that the women of the country appear to be fewer than the men, owing, as some critics allege, to the scanty care they receive in the cradle. This is undesirable, from a moral point of view, no less than the opposite disparity, as we have it in England.

Let me not, however, quit the subject of social groups and manners without testfying to the general courtesy and hospitality of Sind people. I have spoken of it already, but let me add that it makes itself felt in the humblest circles and the most secluded villages.

The religions of the country show no trace of that Buddhism which by all analogy must have once prevailed there, nor are there any memorials of Buddhist art. Hinduism moreover is by no means what it is in the Deccan. In the Deccan one grows used to a pretty rigid system of Hinduism, which seems to form a sort of standard. Every village has its little shrine of Mahadeo, its image of Maruti and its sacred pepul. The position of the Bramhana is definite and recognised; everything is as regular as the inside and outside of a Wesleyan church. In Sind, however, "Hinduism" is a thing much hazier, and more mobile. There are, to begin with, very few Brahmans, and these few are so poor and insignificant that one may almost call them a depressed caste. Nor are the dieties of the Puranas much better off. You will scarcely find anywhere such a thing as a temple of Mahadeo; no one seems to take any interest in him or Vishnu or even in Krishna. This is why I was struck so much by the cave at Alor and wondered how many centuries Parbatis image had been there. True, these old figures are stealing into Sind. At Haiderabad I saw a magnificent new temple of Lakshami, but it was built, I believe, by a recent immigrant; the Puranas, I understand, are not really conquering the field. The ground of popular

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devotion is largely occupied by the spirit of the Indus, who has many shrines and votaries. There is no image in them; simply a burning lamp, before which Darya Shah is worshiped. The religious energy of the country has gone in to Sikhism, with which, for the first time, I found myself in touch. There is a famous Sikh temple near the island at Sukkur; it stands on a little island of its own Sadh Velo in a group of modern buildings. Some old images of Hanuman and Ganpati are preserved and honoured there—the only ones of the kind I remember in Sind, but the atmosphere of the place is modern and progressive. The place of worship is clean and orderly; I felt almost a shock in finding there naked figures with long rusty hair, of the most ancient order of Hindu ascetics. But these, no doubt, will survive any change of creeds in India. Christanity too will have them some day, though the Church of Rome, now an old part of India, has not countenanced such. In this Sikh temple, strangers are admitted, with a few reasonable restrictions; they may see the holy volume revered* and read, and listen to the musical intonation of the priest and snuff up the devotional fumes of incense. Then they may repair to the library, which is a well ordered institution, and finally, before they depart they are offered a share of the blameless viands cooked for the residents. Though fully conscious of the gulf that separates curiosity, however, sympathetic, from devotional communion, I felt the charm of the place and determined some day to see more of this Sikh religion and its aims.

Professed Sikhs are not however very common in Sind. There are many educated people who believe more or less loosely this faith and if asked their religion will say they are followers of Guru Nanak. The Amils seem to be of this way of thinking: they may be compared to Unitarians in England. They want a religion which is respectable and not over-troublesome in its demands on time, money, and intelligence. Other bodies represented are the Sanatana Dharma Society, and the Dev Samaj of Lahore. I postpone an examination of these till I visit the Panjab some day. It seems to be a breeding ground of religions. Here the Sikh system and the Arya Samaj emerged with other aberrant forms of Hinduism. In Bombay our Devis are Riddhi and Siddhi; speculation is not in favour, except speculation in rupees.

It is easy to perceive that Hinduism in Sind has been much affected by contact with Islam. The system of Islam chiefly current is Persian in type, friendly to the arts, and Sindh, like Cashmere, as we shall shortly see, has been a home of arts. I do not think the sterner type of Islam has flourished there, though Pirs have at all times much abounded. Whether this is due to the easy faith of Sindh or to the activity of the Pirs I know not, though in meditating on their tombs I have often wondered how they came to persuade the world of their merits. But then I am able in a measure to answer the question, for

* I remembered as I saw the fans waved over it that in Scotland, until lately, it was thought proper for a minister to wear kid gloves when he touched the Bible. The sentiment is the same as that of the Sikhs, though the thought of *leather* is abhorrent to their souls.

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I have met Pirs in course of formation, so to speak. Let me recall Khairpur, the one independent state of Sind, where I spent a few pleasant days in the State guest house ; at the gate of this guest house on a broken cot, with a pile of bricks for its fourth leg, lay an ancient man whom the stranger might not have noticed but who was nevertheless well known to every one, high and low, in the state of Khairpur. He had been lying on that cot for a whole generation, having been blown into this harbour through some storm of destiny from some quarter which he never disclosed. His long tenure of the spot had secured him a place in local society ; he was regularly fed, especially on ground nuts, an esculent for which his admirers had discovered in him a fleshly weakness. A vast pile of shells behind him testified to their ungrudging support and his continued health and digestive powers. He never spoke, except on ominous occasions ; the last of which had been the death of the late Prime Minister of Khairpur. As this official had approached to salute him one day he uttered thrice the word " Graveyard," and within an hour the Prime Minister was expiring. I accosted him more than once myself, but though he regarded me with a gaze full of serenity and intelligence he returned me no answer. I little doubt that he is still reposing on that broken cot beside that pile of shells, adding to his reputation for sanctity, and laying the foundations of a tomb which will some day testify to the saintly life of a Sindhi Pir.

Well, there are also in Sind other channels wherein the devotional fervor of Islam flows and overflows. At Rohri is preserved a Min Mubarak or hair of the Prophet's beard. Once a year it is exposed to the public ; the tolerant sentiment of the country permitted me to be present on the occasion. The crowd was large and much in earnest ; chiefly, though not exclusively, of men. They were admitted by batches to a small room where the relic was displayed. There, under a canopy, sat a Sayyid, a descendant of him who had brought the relic from Arabia ; he was a grave patient man and as each batch entered the chamber he lifted up the relic before their eyes. It was enclosed in a gold cylinder, from the end of which by an annual miracle it emerges ; I cannot say, I saw it myself, but (unlike Burton at the Kaba) I felt myself restrained by some decent scruples from too curious an enquiry. The crowd took everything for granted : they hastily dropped their pice into the attendants' hand and joining their palms exclaimed in reverential tones " Blessed be the Prophet. Blessing on his holy name." The entrance was not managed well, and many a poor pilgrim had to go away with his eyes scantily satisfied.

Even Hindoos in Sind approach such shrines ; they join the Mahommedans in the veneration of Saints, and Islam, in some places, actually permits the scandal of bells in Mosques. In these details, as in the growth of Sikh and Sufi systems, the two impulses so hostile in their origin, of Islam and " Hinduism," have united to conceive a spiritual protection,

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Strange to say, Mahommedan fervours in Sind has produced no great mosques. The finest I remember is at Tatta, ornamented with blue tiles of the best period, now cracking and crumbling to pieces.

Of the arts of the country I have yet mentioned none, save of the blue tiles. To this we may now add in the first place the enamel work of Haiderabad. It is cloigonne enamel on a silver base; its colours are green and blue, as clear and lustrous as the red of Jaipur. It is a very inexpensive art, and produces good ornaments at a low cost. I think indeed that it gives the finest results in this way of all jewellery that I have seen. It has now almost disappeared. So too have the various styles of Sind embroidery disappeared. Not long since, several places, like Shikarpur, had embroidary of their own, very beautiful in design; it is all now vanishing or vanished. So too, the arts of dyeing and weaving are moribund; in fact I could hardly find a dyer, and not one who used native dyes. Weavers are still common; their earnings are wretchedly low but they cling to a style of work they like and they have some advantages in the production of certain sizes and patterns which the power loom may not overtake. At Shikarpur I saw one factory where the latest handlooms were in use; they were laborious and noisy, and I felt that perhaps after all men's muscles were doing what steam power ought to do especially in that fiery climate; if the handloom has a future it should repose rather on quality and design than upon a volume of output which will compete with that of steam.

Like other travellers, I have asked myself a thousand times why the arts of India have declined before western influences, and I should like at this point to give my own answer to the question.

Let us first realise the position of art in mediaeval India. It was for the most part not popular art. It flourished in the service of princes; it was leisurely in its methods, and it proceeded from men who were rewarded more by grain than by money prices; money prices, so far as they were paid, were quite capricious. The output of this only was small, we shall realise this if we compare it with that of Japan. Japan has been able to supply every large museum in the world and many large collectors with a treasure of first rate artistic objects; presumably Japan itself is not yet empty of them, and they may still be bought in Europe. Now there is practically no collection of Indian bric-a-brac outside India and London, and yet there is very little left in India. As a collector of such things during a period of years I may say that it is difficult to meet with good specimens of them, even if you are ready to pay, as you must, pretty long prices. * The best Indian work has proceeded from small centres, in small quantities, and a small change in circumstances has been sufficient to kill off the art that produced it. That change has been brought about by the change

* I was recently asked to pay Rs. 850 for three brass figures in Poona; height about 18 inches; work good, but not extraordinary. In the museum at Madras there are three elephant goads of Vishnu Nagar, which are the finest pieces in the collection. I learned from Mr. Thurston that in spite of every enquiry, for many years he had only been able to hear of two more, which were not for sale.

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in the taste of wealthy people. In a measure we must accept this as proper and inevitable. There are many articles of western manufacture which so far surpass their Eastern predecessors that no one can complain if these have vanished. The Cashmir shawl, for instance, is clumsy and inconvenient compared with a good coat; the *kalamdan* is barbarous compared with western writing materials. Such articles have inevitably had to go, and we cannot complain if the art which adorned them has vanished too. Unfortunately the process does not stop here. The influential classes of India have thrown away a good deal that they might have kept. They have thrown away, for instance, their national music. Why should we see, at Bombay, the marriage processions of wealthy and educated Indians headed by bands playing indeed on European instruments, but producing a disgraceful noise that no complaisance can call European music? It is certainly not to flatter or please a European that this is done; what is the reason ?.

I have never been able altogether to answer this question. I cannot quite fathom the power which western inventions have to drive out oriental customs. * Why is it for instance that Indian games vanish before cricket and football ? There is no doubt that they do; you will see little boys, prompted by no superior, organising feeble imitations of these games and enjoying them, whilst their own recreations vanish from their minds. There is perhaps a breadth about English games, properly played, which partly accounts for this, but on the whole I am puzzled by it. So too I am puzzled why Parsi women in Bombay should take to high-heeled shoes, and in general why all that is good and beautiful in women's dress in India withers up on contact with the dress of the west. It is certainly not because people of India have mastered the secret of western taste. That they unquestionably have not. In dress, pictures, furniture, and music the canons of western art are wholly unappreciated here; there is not a house in India (at least I have never seen one) where even a passable judgment in western art may be discerned. It is all the more strange that western art has shown such power to dispossess the art of the country.

The old generation of artists, confronted by this change in their patrons, have done nothing to meet it. They have never quitted their leisurely methods of work, and their indifference to orders. At the Delhi Exhibition, a few years ago there was a fine reproduction in wood of one of the figures of the Madura temple; as the price was reasonable, I proposed to order a replica for myself, but Sir George Watt advised me not to do so, explaining that the man who had made it had only been induced to finish his task by vigorous local pressure and might take years to complete another order. I could multiply instances of this apathy, and need only add that the dealers in art do their worst for art and artists by their methods of business. I recognise

* There is a similar problem in Europe. I cannot understand why the beautiful and convenient dresses of the various European nations have all disappeared. This has happened in an age when nations have shown a growing tendency to cherish their own languages, a tendency quite extravagant of time and money. Why are there no revivals in Welsh and Irish dresses ? Of course paradox is the usual course of human affairs.

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indeed that enterprise and honesty are not quite wanting amongst them; there are Sind dealers in Indian bric-a-brac who have branches all over the world, but men of a good type are rare. It is the usual policy of the dealer not even to disclose the best articles he has if he can sell his customer something inferior, and fixed or fair prices he does not recognise. Good customers are thus discouraged, and as far as foreigners go, they have pretty well limited their demand for Indian art to a demand for rubbish. This rubbish, drifting into European and American markets, has hopelessly discredited Indian art ware in the eye of the west.

Not that all art work in India was made by court artificers. Weaving and calico printing were popular arts; and there was the widespread domestic art of embroidery. The out-put in these lines was large; though naturally, work of this kind being perishable, the stock of it, if not renewed, runs out. We have still to ask the question, why this art is disappearing. So far as domestic embroidery is concerned, we must trace its decline partly to the decline of the purdah system and the opening of a freer life for women. Embroidery needs patience, it supposes leisure, and women who have begun to go to school have neither patience nor leisure for it. At the same time, like the other classes mentioned above, they have begun to cast their eyes on western models. They are yet quite ignorant how to use these, and I must say in the Girls' Schools in Sind I was made quite wretched and melancholy by the dresses I saw there.

The common people whose children do not go to school have equally been depraved by western colours and designs. This is perhaps the most amazing feature in the whole case. Eastern people,—especially those in contact with Persia—have always been recognised to possess a fine judgment in colour; yet that judgment instead of resisting the West has simply succumbed to it without a struggle. It specially accepts the most glaring colours and the most violent combinations of them; it seem to have lost all power of its own to choose and use them. This however was by no means impossible, and I have certainly noticed examples of it being done. Yarn dyed by western methods may be seen woven in Sind into cloth of good patterns where the inspiration of the past is by no means lost. Whether the best aniline dyes equal in tone the best dyes of the past is a debateable point. Granting however that they do not, they are in many cases beautiful colours and only need good judgment in their use. It is with dyes somewhat as it is with tones in speech; probably there are no tones that are in themselves vulgar, vulgarity results from false combinations of them, and vulgarity in colour effects proceeds from the same cause. Aniline dyes have proved harmful to art chiefly by their numbers, which have betrayed weavers and printers into exaggerations in their use.

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THE GREATEST NEWSPAPER IN THE WORLD.

BY A LONDON EDITOR.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN once described the London *Times* as the most powerful thing in the world—except the Mississippi. Making allowances for picturesque simile, the great president was nearly right, for even to-day, after all its vicissitudes and the long-drawn-out contest for its mastery in the law courts, the *Times* remains unquestionably the greatest newspaper in the world. It has become a tradition, a national institution. Even more, for no national institution ever stopped a war or deplaced Cabinet Ministers; and the *Times* has done both. The very name of the *Times* appears to strike awe in the minds of people who have been brought up on this tradition. "I'll write to the *Times*!" This used to be a favorite threat of Britons travelling abroad when any incident occurred that disturbed their equanimity or was contrary to their insular experience. It was deemed to be sufficiently efficacious to overawe the most truculent Continental official, and was typical of what the average Briton thought of the *Times*. Nor has this habit of "writing to the *Times*" died out. There are more important news items every day hidden away in the correspondence columns of the *Times* than in any other department of that great journal. In America, if a great man has anything to say for publication, he has himself interviewed, or at least contrives to convey his news to all the papers at once. In England he writes to *Times*. Even if all its other departments were closed, the letters to the editor which appear day by day would make it the most valuable news sheet in existence. Many things have contrived to make the *Times* what it is to-day.

In the first place, it has always been conducted on a high plane, independent and courageous. There is in the minds of the public a certain amount of mystery concerning this newspaper which embodies at once the dignity, the secrecy, and the omniscience of the press. The *Times* has "played up" to this feeling for a hundred years or more, with the result that it is now supposed to wield power second only to the throne. Therefore, when the recent disclosures of internal dissension reached the public the sensation assumed national importance. It was the subject of dinner-table talk for months. Gossip enlarged on the situation; this man had secured it, that man had secured it, an American syndicate had obtained control, a German syndicate had captured it, a group of city magnates had taken charge, and so on. It is impossible to describe the sensations which must have overcome people who had looked on the *Times* from infancy as one of the bulwarks of the British Empire. The rumors of trouble among the seventy-nine owners of the *Times* were started some years ago when Mr. Arthur Fraser Walter, the then head of the Walter dynasty, issued a statement to the effect that the control of the *Times* had been in his hands for a good many years (since 1885). He continued:—

"And there it will remain until event so ever which mortals have no control shall place it in the hands of my successor. No outside influence of any kind, of any origin, will ever be permitted to affect the character of the great institution which was founded by my great-grandfather one hundred and twenty-years ago, and which has never for a moment passed from the control of his lineal successors."

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These are fine brave words, and admit of no misconception or misinterpretation, but they were too definite. The *Times* has never been controlled, in the ordinary sense of the word, by its owners, of whom Mr. Walter was only one of seventy-nine. By order of the Court of Chancery that the dispute among the proprietors with regard to the division of profits should be settled, the *Times* has been made into a stock company. It had previously been a private, unlimited partnership. The control now passed into the hands of the directors of this stock company, but Mr. Walter remained head of the directorate, and by the constitution of the company his son or heir was to succeed him.

In addition to that directorate the *Times* has now the advantage, if it wishes, of advice on the practical affairs of journalism from Lord Northcliffe, better known to the world as Alfred Harmsworth, who created the *Daily Mail*, and whose genius revolutionized British journalism. Of him more anon. He is the greatest figure in the journalism of the world to-day; in fact, with perhaps the exception of the elder James Gordon Bennett, the most powerful, the most picturesque, and the most astonishing figure journalism has ever known.

But we are primarily concerned with the *Times* itself, and it will be interesting to note its progress through one hundred and twenty-eight years, from its modest beginning in a small printers' shop to its present magnificent dimensions. Its conception may be said to be due to a fortuitous accident, or the faith of an inventor, rather than to any insistent public demand. The first of the Walter family, John Walter, who was born in 1738 and died in 1812, was the inventor of a workable system of printing by "logographs." These were stereotyped words or parts of words of frequent occurrence, and to a certain extent superseded the use of separate letters. He duly patented the invention, and had so strong a belief in it that he started the newspaper more as a method of exploiting it and proving its merits than from any burning desire to own a newspaper. Thus the *Daily Universal Register* was started in 1785, and three years later its title was changed to *The Times*.

It was not, as is often thought, the first of the great London daily papers. On the contrary, at the moment of its birth there were at least four other newspapers which already enjoyed a fair share of public appreciation. These were the *Public Advertiser*, which was famous as having published the much-debated *Letters of Junius*; the *Morning Chronicle*, already nineteen years old, which survived until 1878; the *Morning Post*, aged sixteen, which still flourishes as the organ of Society; and the *Morning Herald*. The price of the *Times* was originally fourpence halfpenny (nine cents), and it gradually rose to sevenpence, at which it stood from the year of Waterloo until 1836. Then the stamp duty on newspapers having been reduced to one English penny (two cents) per copy, it fell to fivepence and remained so until 1855, when the stamp duty was repealed. Thenceforward for six years it was fourpence, and after that threepence (six cents), at which price it now remains, the dearest newspaper in the world.

The first John Walter was a straightforward, uncompromising man who had strong convictions and did not fear to give them expression. He printed things in the *Times* of that day which to-day would be characterized as among the yellowest of the yellow. In fact, the original *Times* was a yellow journal of the purest dye; and, being outspoken, fearless, a little broad at times, it became an immediate success. Within ten years of its inception it was a recognized power and a formidable rival of its contemporary, the *Daily Universal Register*. But the gossips of the

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coffee-house sometimes led the paper into indiscretions, and, in fact, led John Walter himself into imprisonment, for he was twice locked up for libelling the sons of King George II. There is no evidence, however, that the paper suffered. Mayhap, indeed, it had the contrary effect. At all events, when John Walter retired from active management, in 1803, to be succeeded by his son, John Walter the second, the *Times* was firmly established as the great political and social authority of the metropolis.

The new manager at once began to assert his strong and purposeful personality in the conduct of the newspaper. The father had looked on the journal mainly, though by no means solely, as a side issue of his now prosperous printing establishment, and as a practical vindication of his logographic invention. The son determined to improve and strengthen and broaden the newspaper, and make it the leading department of his activities by asserting its individuality and giving candid expression to unbiased political opinion. This was a novelty, for all other newspapers of the period were violently partisan and prejudiced—to an extent, indeed, that is not even conceived in the modern developments of journalism. The result was entirely successful, and the circulation of the *Times*, which was a bare five thousand when John Walter II took over the reins, was doubled in a few years; and when the second Walter died, in 1837, he had succeeded in driving the circulation up to thirty thousand, an enormous figure in those days; and it is only a just tribute to ascribe to him the genius which made the paper the most authoritative journal in the world. He introduced printing by steam power, he organized the system of foreign correspondence (afterwards vastly developed), he insisted on the absolute accuracy of every item of news being checked and made certain before publication, he instituted a news service from abroad which on hundreds of occasions anticipated that of the Government, and he had no respect for persons or personages whose part in public affairs was not sincere and disinterested. He was a stern, thoughtful, strenuous man of great intellectual capacity, and the lucky possessor of that inestimable gift, foresight. His editors were men of affairs who had the confidence and the friendship of the King's Ministers. He insisted that the *Times* should, as far as possible, support the Government of the day, a policy which even at the present time is followed—though it must be stated that the Liberal Government now in power has had little commendation from the *Times* during its seven years of office. The editors under Walter II were Sir John Stoddart and Thomas Barnes, a brilliant scholar of Oxford.

The third John Walter reigned from 1847 until 1894, and it was under his supervision and general direction that the *Times* reached the zenith of its fame. In his time came the exposures of the Crimean scandals when William Henry Russell, the great war correspondent, sent home the most thrilling descriptions of the privations and hardships of the troops due to criminal neglect in the commissariat. In his time came the triumphs of de Blowitz, the most famous special correspondent that journalism has ever known; under him Cabinet Ministers made it their business to call personally at the *Times* office to plead, to exhort, or to explain; under him, too, came the greatest blow the *Times* ever had, in the form of the Pigott forgeries, which ended in the ignominious failure of the *Times* to prove its case against Charles Stewart Parnell and in the tragedy of Pigott's suicide. The blow to the *Times* was great enough to have crushed any other newspaper, and it was currently believed that its influence had gone for ever. But somehow or other the *Times* survived the storm, and within the year it had regained if not enhanced its position of authority.

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When John Walter III was at Oxford, his closest friend was young Delane, the son of the then business manager of the *Times*. The two undergraduates discussed the possibilities, the traditions, and the future scope of the paper, for it was understood then that not only Walter but Delane should devote their life energies to the *Times*. And in due course both entered the service of the paper, Walter as chief proprietor, and Delane, strange to say, a youth of twenty-three, as editor-in-chief. Delane was an amazing character, a man of extraordinary grip, of high ideals, of impeccable probity; and he was born with that instinct for journalism which is a gift vouchsafed to few. For thirty years he ruled the destinies of the *Times* absolutely and without question. He dined out every night, he was everywhere in society, honored, fawned over and feared, and yet for thirty years at eleven o'clock every night he was at his desk in the *Times* office dictating to governments and laying down the law with an authority which no one dared to question. "When we thundered yesterday," was a line which had appeared in one of his predecessor's leaders. That is the origin of the nickname "The Thunderer," by which the *Times* has been known ever since. In Delane's time it is no exaggeration to state that the *Times* formed public opinion to an extent which seems nearly incredible in the light of to-day. A writer on the subject used these words, which are none too strong:—

"In the University common rooms, in episcopal palaces, in rural rectories, at country house dinner-tables, as well as at military messes, in drawing-rooms and at clubs, persons from the middle of the nineteenth century to its close not only took their ideas from the *Times*, they actually reproduced its articles in their small talk. In this way the newspaper wove itself into the warp and woof of the intellectual texture affected by the respectable and well-to-do classes."

A little ponderous, perhaps, this description, but correct in every detail even to this day. I happen myself to be the editor of a widely read newspaper, and it has frequently been my lot to encounter this *Times* tradition among people of all grades of society. "I saw so-and-so in your paper to-day," says one incredulous devotee at the altar of tradition. "I have not seen it in the *Times*, therefore it cannot possibly be true." Unless it has been in the *Times* there is apparently no authority for stating a fact, and I am constrained to believe that items of official information which may happen to reach the *London Gazette* in advance of any other publication are constantly looked at askance because this information has not yet appeared in the *Times*. Delane fostered this spirit in the people.

There is nothing in the world so conducive to a belief in a thing as to surround it with mystery; and the *Times* itself has for generations been steeped in mystery. Printing House Square is a great building of long passages, many lofty rooms with closed doors, and mysterious comings and goings. You never see the editor. You are stopped by a Cerberus at the door past whom few go. There are messengers, but apparently no office-boys who go whistling down the corridors; that is, there are office-boys, but they are mostly men with beards, the personification of dignity and silence—and mystery. There are dozens of sub-editors and leader writers whom no one knows. There are many contributors who have written for the *Times* for years without ever setting foot in the place. There is no editorial telephone. There is a telephone in the business office, placed there within recent years, and if you have any important communication to make to the editorial department the clerks in the business office may offer to deliver your message, or they may not. Employment on the *Times* is looked upon by people in the higher walks of society as equivalent to employment under Government. I

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have flattered myself for years that a post on the *Times* was offered to me unsolicited by John Walter III, many years ago. I did a daring thing. I refused it, and in doing so gave the kindly old gentleman no end of a shock. The idea of refusing a post on the editorial staff, even though the salary offered to me was less than a third of what I was then receiving, came to him as an unpleasant surprise. He pointed out to me that even though I was employed by another newspaper—the *Times* in those days never officially acknowledged the existence of any other paper—the larger salary with its attendant uncertainty could not possibly compensate me for the refusal of a post which made me a member of the *Times* staff and would in the course of human events enable me to qualify for an increase in pay, to say nothing of the position it would give me in Society. It is not often that one is offered a post on the *Times*, and in deference to tradition I cherish the memory. Many fond fathers have endeavored to make careers for their sons by securing places for them in Printing House Square in preference to the diplomatic service. The mode of precedure is practically the same. A written form of application is filled, giving the name, age, antecedents, education, and qualifications of the applicant. A formal acknowledgment is received from the management, stating that the name has been placed on record, and in due course—it may be a year or two years or six years—the lucky individual may be permitted to enter on a career as a very junior junior. There is a story to the effect that the editor of a most prosperous and popular London newspaper received a few years ago a notification from the *Times* management that, in response to his application for a post in the sub-editorial department, he had been selected, and that his duties, starting at a modest salary, would begin on the following first of January. The application had been made eighteen years before! The story is of course apocryphal, but it illustrates the methods, or one of the many methods, which have made the *Times* what it is.

A paper must be great to be read as is the *Times* to-day, for though its actual circulation is not sixty thousand, it is read by perhaps five times that number every day. Single copies in clubs, Government offices, consulates, and libraries are read by scores of people. Hundreds of people are what is known as "syndicate subscribers"—that is, say three people subscribe for the paper, paying one penny (two cents) per day each. One man reads it in the morning, and at noon the second sends for it. He keeps it until the evening, and, after having fully digested it, sends it on to the third; and even then it goes on its round, disseminating information by being sent by post to distant relations who cannot afford the expense of threepence.

With all this power, it is asked, Why, then, was there so much recent litigation in the *Times*? The truth is that it is all due to an unwise provision of the first John Walter. Those who are familiar with Kinglake's great work *The Invasion of the Crimea* may recollect a humorous episode in which the author referred to the *Times* as being owned by certain "widows and gentlemen." Although put in this light way, it represented—at the time—the truth of the matter accurately enough. John Walter I made it a family affair, and until quite recently it has been a family affair ever since. There were few shareholders outside the family. Members died and left their interests to relatives. These again further subdivided their holdings, and so the share list gradually grew until it became entirely unwieldy, not in point of number, but in that of diversity of interests and there seemed to be some proximate danger to that "absolute power" which was the mainstay of the Domain and an honored tradition of the family.

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The multiplication of small proprietors, therefore, made it advisable and convenient to adopt certain legal formalities, which gave rise to the report that the Walter dynasty had been abolished. A few small shareholders made all the trouble. But somehow they have all been disposed of, while some sixty of them still remain and are content. With the exception of Lord Northcliffe's advent, the policy and management remain as before. How much of Lord Northcliffe's vast wealth has been poured into the *Times* it is not possible or necessary to state. It is sufficient to know that his immense influence and energy have been placed at the disposal of the greatest newspaper. In spite of the croakings from certain quarters, where it was stated that the *Times* had at last received its death-blow, it is certain that under the new auspices, it is likely to reach even greater heights of power and achievement.

There is no romance connected with the *Times* like the romance of Lord Northcliffe. Here we have the spectacle of a man scarcely over forty-five years of age who has made a place for himself in the world quite without parallel in modern history. A poor boy, the son of a brilliant barrister, begins, life as a free-lance writer on the London press, without influence, without friends. Declining to enter the legal profession, he left home in defiance of parental wishes, thus setting at naught all the rules which obtain on the subject of getting on in the world. It is not so many years ago since Alfred Harmsworth, living in modest lodgings in far-away suburban Clapham, trudged daily to Fleet Street in search of an editor who would accept his little contributions so that he might meet his few wants. Even in those days the light of ambition shone in the boy's eyes. Writing for newspapers is but poor consolation for youths who are friendless and inexperienced, and Alfred Harmsworth soon found that Fleet Street was a perfect maelstrom of unattached writers, brilliant, good, indifferent, and bad. But he was cast in a different mould from the ordinary Fleet Street hack and in a short time he had placed himself in the position where he could command a salary. A few years under the irksome yoke of a wage brought him before the world as the proprietor of a weekly journal called *Answers*, which in its time has brought him as much as eighty thousands pounds a year. *Answers*, like so many of Alfred Harmsworth's creations, was a novelty, and, being a novelty, became an instantaneous success. He originated one ingenious thing after another calculated to increase circulation. He worked, he plodded, he struggled morning, noon, day and night, having before him all the time the one ambition to get on in the world. Progress is and was his shibboleth. Nothing has ever been too difficult for him, nothing has ever daunted him.

What other result can there be than success for a man who flourishes under such conditions? Success brought broadening of ideas. Very soon he became the principal proprietor of a moribund newspaper, the *Evening News*, and within a week had rattled its old bones so vigorously and brushed up the old carcass with such an amazing succession of new ideas that the public fairly fought for the paper. It is astonishing to relate, but the very first year recouped him for the amount of money he had invested in the purchase of the paper and left him a handsome profit besides. Then came the *Daily Mail*, the most amazing newspaper venture of all times. London vowed that a halfpenny paper conducted on modern lines, even though its news service was unquestionably great, could not possibly survive insular prejudices. It shook its head and said that Harmsworth had at last succeeded in committing financial suicide. But when London saw the *Daily*

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Mail and recognized the master-hand that garnered the news and presented it attractively and not flamboyantly, maintaining a proper middle course, it altered its opinion, and the *Daily Mail* was made. Before its advent hundreds of villages throughout England were practically in the Middle Ages so far as the current events of the day were concerned. Alfred Harmsworth created a new class of newspaper readers. People who had never read a newspaper before "took in" the *Daily Mail*, and swore by it. The best journalists, the most popular special correspondents, the most modern machinery and a vast fortune were at its disposal. When the South African war broke out, by reason of its magnificent organization it succeeded almost daily in beating the Government on its own news, and the War Office was constantly and reluctantly forced to acknowledge the receipt of information from the seat of war through the medium of the *Daily Mail*.

It is almost useless to enumerate the other newspapers which have been created by this man of unlimited resource. He starts a paper to-day, finds it a failure in a week. and completely metamorphoses it into a success. Here, for instance, is the *Daily Mirror*, which was launched as a paper for women and by women. Alfred Harmsworth, by this time a baronet, backed his opinion as to the feasibility of establishing such a newspaper by losing a clear hundred thousand pounds in the attempt to establish it. The attempt failed. Other men would have cut the loss. But he in a single night acknowledged his mistake turned the paper round completely, and presented it to the public the next day as a daily illustrated paper ; and his decision was correct, for the *Daily Mirror* is to-day in possession of a circulation almost equal to that of the *Daily Mail*. There are magazines, weekly papers, monthly journals, of all descriptions, under his control. One would suppose that this was quite enough, but through it all this tireless man has had one ambition, and a laudable one too—to become associated with the *Times*. He has succeeded at last in reaching the zenith. He is a peer of the realm, the owner of more newspapers than one cares to count, and one of the owners of the greatest newspaper in the world.

What is the present policy of the *Times* ? That which it has always been—independence, lavish expenditure on the news service, beauty of production and appearance, greater attention to American affairs than in the more recent past, the addition of a Fifth Avenue and Wall Street office to that which already exists in Washington, and—the maintenance of the policy of secrecy.

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SCIENCE AND RELIGION: A REJOINDER.

By Mr. C. F. GORHAM.

THE article by Mr. Sheo Prashad Mathur in the September number of the *Hindustan Review* contains some statements on which a few comments from a Rationalist point of view may not, it is hoped, be deemed inappropriate. The general contention put forward is that religion and science are two separate departments of life, and that the latter should not meddle with the former. It is a pity that this attitude of modest aloofness on the part of religion should not have been adopted some centuries earlier. Had science been permitted to develop in a normal manner, without the numberless impediments purposely placed in its path by ecclesiasticism, human happiness and well-being would have been sensibly increased. However, religion having persistently abused and impeded science, it is not surprising if science in turn seeks—not in the least to retaliate in kind, but to establish its right to examine the doctrines of religion in order to determine the degree of truth they may contain.

Mr. Mathur asks: "What right have the Rationalists to * * * extend the monistic principle to the province of metaphysic, and treat spiritual doctrines with levity; monism, being a system which assumes the unity, without defining the cause of nature, necessarily embraces the consideration of the psychical phenomena covered by the term 'metaphysics' and if psychical phenomena are found to be invariably allied with physical phenomena, the duty of examining both becomes imperative. Science is simply co-ordinated knowledge, and it is futile to claim that any branch of knowledge, mental or physical, should not receive the closest investigation. Whether welcome or unwelcome, investigations of this nature will undoubtedly be continued.

Religion may be said to embody the aspiration for the unseen. Science has a right to demand that the unseen should be proved to exist, and, if it exists, that it should be examined. That science treats "spiritual doctrines with levity" is a charge more easily made than established. To notions which he holds to be superstitious, illusory, or detrimental, the investigator has a perfect right to apply the methods of ridicule and levity which the early Christians sometimes applied to the Pagan pantheon; but that Rationalists treat sincere and earnest spiritual aspirations unbecomingly is an assertion that runs counter to the prevailing tone of advanced thought in the present day.

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"Science," Mr. Mathur states, "has no right to sneer at such questions" as the existence of God and the soul and their relations with matter and energy, for its methods "in their essence are almost as slippery as those of metaphysics."

It is partially true that in the last resort the conclusions of science, like those of religion, rest on a foundation of faith. But the faith of science is a recognised assumption to which we are driven by a series of connected and ascertained facts, while the faith of religion is made up of assumptions which to a large extent conflict with ascertained facts. And there is a striking difference between the content of the one and the content of the other. Primarily, science deals with phenomena, and if there is a cause behind phenomena it would appear that knowledge of it can only be gained by the study of its phenomenal effects. Yet though science endeavours to discover the ultimate cause or causes, the amount of positive knowledge attained has so far been trifling enough to impose suspension of judgment concerning its real nature. Religion, however, boldly fills the gap with speculations which masquerade as undeniable truths, it asserts a supreme personal cause and the deathlessness of the spiritual entity which is supposed to animate each human body. In this the scientific rationalist is unable to follow the lead of religion, because he finds it impossible to reconcile such theories with many facts which are known with greater certainty. Belief in the testimony of the senses is a very different thing from belief in the truth of every conclusion to which that testimony has led. It is obvious that if the existence of God transcends sense testimony, it may with equal propriety be affirmed or denied. The cultured Rationalist does not "sneer at such questions"; he simply claims the right to examine them.

The law of gravitation, says Mr. Mathur, "involves the infallibility of the testimony of sense observation"; in order "to trust the simplest observation of a natural object we must accept these four intuitive beliefs; (1) in the veracity of senses, (2) in the reality of an external world; (3) in the veracity of memory; (4) in our continuing personal identity." In a practical sense the truth of these observations may be admitted, but subject to the proviso that sense impressions need to be controlled and verified by reason. So far from their infallibility being assumed it is to science alone that we owe the knowledge of their variable and occasionally untrustworthy character.

Belief in the reality of the external world is, of course a condition precedent to all investigation, scientific or religious. So far as we know, the continuance of personal identity depends on the continued

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coherence of the individual organism. With this coherence the function of memory is intimately allied, and its testimony to the permanence of identity is probably the only point on which its complete veracity can be accepted. Thus the four intuitive beliefs cannot be established without the aid of reflection and reasoning. Science assumes, not their absolute, but only their substantial efficacy.

It is possible that Mr. Mathur has not fully perceived that to say the "ultimate methods of science and religion, *per se*, are much the same" is equivalent to saying that the ultimate truth of things is not known, a proposition which no scientist or rationalist will dispute. The corollary from this is the precise opposite to that usually drawn by religion, *viz* : that its assertions regarding the unknown are entitled to implicit acceptance by faith. It might be wiser for religion to cultivate the modest restraint of science, instead of reproaching it for a supposed positiveness which is in reality peculiar to religion itself.

Science now a-days is too well-bred to treat religion in a "mocking," "irreverent," "sneering," spirit. If it did so, it would find some excuse in the abusive language which religious writers have so frequently applied to their opponents. Indeed Mr. Mathur's own article (though temperate in the main) is adorned by such terms as "pseudo-scientitic gibberish" and "bombast," as applied to a movement with which he does not sympathise.

With regard to the "conversion" of certain distinguished Germans from an early monism to various forms of dualism, one can only recognise it as an interesting fluctuation of opinion, possibly due, as Haeckel suggests, to the approach of old age, convincing them that the attainment of ultimate truth is beyond human reach. If the surmise is correct the present attitude of these thinkers would seem to approximate to agnosticism more closely than to orthodox religion. In any case it must be remembered that the change appears to have been of a purely philosophical nature, and that there is no apparent justification for referring to Kant, Virchow, Wundt and the rest as "pious devotees."

That "religion stands for all the finer, nobler qualities of man" is perhaps a rash thing to say. Divested of all dogmatic tendencies religion may possibly "stand for" the highest in man. Theological religion, however, has with lamentable frequency allied itself with the worst and lowest tendencies of humanity. An ideally pure faith has never yet exerted any wide influence, and we have therefore to

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form our estimate of the value of religion from its actual record rather than from its possibilities. It is difficult to find a religion which has consistently stood for independence of thought, for justice, courage, civic virtue, or for that free growth in knowledge which is the source of almost all progress in civilisation.

Mr. Mathur desiderates a generalised "philosophy of science," but warns us that it must have nothing to do with religious beliefs. The scientific investigation of religion has already done so much good in modifying bigotry, discountenancing the persecuting spirit, alleviating social ills, and improving the general moral tone, that the advantage of excluding religion from scientific inquiry and keeping it in a water-tight compartment is far from being manifest. Indeed the proposal is not only impracticable, but essentially mischievous, as tending to revive superstition, and promote a contented ignorance and an exclusive spirit inconsistent with the general welfare. If, as Mr. Mathur suggests, the ultimate bases of science and religion are the same, there must be many points at which they coalesce and influence each other, and as long as science avoids the repulsive bigotry which religion so often displays nothing but good is likely to result from its extension.

Finally, there is one point which should be noticed but which Mr. Mathur has omitted to mention. It is religion rather than science which deserves reproof for meddling with matters outside its province. For generations religious thinkers have shown an almost morbid anxiety to reconcile their tenets with the truths of science. They have followed a settled policy of endeavouring to put religion on a scientific footing, to prove an essential conformity between theology and science, and to avail themselves of the analogies and wider conceptions which science has furnished. Unless it can be shown that science is at all likely to reverse in the future the beneficial influence it has exerted on religion in the past, it is surely unwise to attribute to science an obtrusive, "meddlesome, attitude in matters religious." Nor are there any real grounds for the fear that it will "do a distinct dis-service to the orderly progress of human evolution." On the contrary, to secure religion against scientific investigation may be considered a sure and obvious way to bring back the reign of intellectual darkness.

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ORGANISATION IN INDIA

By MR. S. M. RAUF ALI, BAR-AT-LAW.

"ORDER is Heaven's first Law" is a saying which is not only substantially true and universal in its application but is susceptible of a logical analysis. For if we put the natural interpretation upon the terms used in this proposition, we shall see that order in one sense is the consequence of organisation, in other words order can only be obtained when organisation is perfect. To elucidate this meaning it will be worth while to refer to a concrete case. It is commonly said that the Government of India is remarkable for keeping order throughout the length and breadth of this vast Asiatic continent. If however, we go just a little below the surface of this significant fact, we shall at once notice that the statement about keeping order is another mode of expressing the truth that the Government of India is highly organised. In the former we impress the hearer with the result *i. e.* order, and leave him to think out the causes for himself; whereas in the latter we lay before him the data of the situation, so that by exercising his immediate inference he knows that a well organised Government will surely lead to perfect order in the country.

Now returning to the same proposition we will have no hesitation in saying that "Organisation is Heaven's first Law," and it will be readily seen that this substitution serves two purposes simultaneously. In the first place, it implies the necessary antecedent to order, as explained above, and in the second, is itself an ordinary synonym for that word. But yet there is another very important aspect of the proposition that this modification suggest to mind; for its predicate is an assertion of great consequence from the logical point of view, and all its pregnancy is centred in the emphatic word "first." When we have once admitted that a certain state of things, be it organisation or Order, is the first law of Nature (of course, taking Heaven as equivalent to Nature) then it is evident that the negation of the very first law of a phenomenon is inconceiveable, *i. e.* there can be no such thing as disorder or disorganisation. Furthermore, if our reasoning is without any technical flaw, our conclusion must be borne out by facts, and it ought to be as impossible for us to think otherwise as it is to conceive the contrary of the first law of thought: Whatever is, is. But apparently all facts miltate against our conclusion; for we know perfectly well that disorders exist in the world, that many human societies are completely disorganised and moreover in daily life we see that an organised firm of business has invariably an advantage over a disorganised one.

There are many things that sound strange but are perfectly true, and this conclusion must be classed as one of them. It will, however, be our endeavour to show in this essay that the possibility of such a thing as disorganisation in direct contradiction of Nature's first law is unthinkable, and

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that there is only a difference of degree between various organisations. Consequently, when one talks of a disorganised body, one unconsciously uses an exaggeration, where one really means to say that the body in question has a lower organisation than would be desirable under the circumstances. The plainest example that can be adduced to show the force of this argument is contained in the modern doctrine of "Out-of-dateism." Our ancient civilizations of Asia still possess many institutions which were highly organised at the time when the conditions prevailed to need and justify their existence and served their purpose with remarkable facility. But now as times are changed, the same once admirable organisations are set down as the very models of disorganisation in comparison with the more up-to-date institutions. The epithet out-of-date, which is so often applied to these interesting relics, is significant enough to mean that they are no good any longer, they have done their duty and must be shelved now. Yet, we cannot shut our eyes to the intrinsic merits of these systems in spite of the fact that the evidence of their incapacity to cope with the recent demands is overwhelming. We discern in them ingenious devices to meet the requirements of the day, and yet it is difficult to defend them against the effective artillery of modern criticism which drives bolts of solid facts to the detriment of the whole structure, and naturally enough we attribute their break-down to a state of disorganisation.

Take the case of caste system among our own fellow-country-men. I cannot imagine a better organisation of the early society than this. That it is extant to-day, although it was originated in the hoary antiquity when the world was many a thousand years younger, ought to convince any man with some historical insight of the remarkable tenacity of this institution. This tenacity was not achieved by forced principles or religious whims; for if it were, it would have gone the way of all flesh long ago. The whole structure of the Aryan society was founded upon the imperishable principal of the division of labour which has come into scientific prominence very lately in the European mind. It is not too much to say of the Hindu race that among the Ancients it was perhaps the only civilized race which applied this principle to its social institutions with intelligence, and reaped the benefit for many centuries. Now-a-days we are only too apt to denounce this system as defective and preventive of advancement; especially when we are face to face with a civilization that is making great strides nearly every day in the field of progress, and we find ourselves handicapped by the water-tight compartments of caste.

Admitting that the caste system is unfitted for the present needs, and even a little relaxation from its grip will go a long way to improve the situation, it does not follow that it has always been a source of weakness to the Hindu society. Here I am considering it purely in its academic aspects which stand out considerably in the light of careful study.

In the early morning of the world's history, when the sun of civilization was just peeping over the Eastern horizon, we find an intelligent race of

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conquerors settling down on the fertile banks of the Saraswati. They are not so many sheep in the herd but they have a conscious element of law regulating their family life as well as the functions of the State. There are priests who perform the simple rites of their faith, which shows that they recognise in the creation around them a Supreme Power, and it is to this all-powerful Deity that they do homage in reverential awe. At the very outset they have to clear the neighbouring lands of the original inhabitants, who are not only troublesome but whose existence is incompatible with the peaceful development of their society. They have succeeded in the work of clearance to a large extent, and now they find that they have a large number of warriors among them, and the circumstances have given rise to a class of individuals who busy themselves with making bows, arrows and chariots, etc., and some of them have taken to tilling and agriculture as well. There is one other very important section which has acquired great influence and power over the people as a whole in virtue of the position it holds, and this consists of the priests or the Brahmins. They are held in high estimation by all alike, from the Raja who rules and defends the nation against the aboriginal invaders down to the peasant who quietly plies his plough on the field. Evidently then, to the simple but keen imagination of the early Hindu, there could be presented no better arrangement of his kinsfolk than the natural one : that those who are well versed in the art of war, and were best fitted for enduring the privations of the battlefield, should bring up their children as warriors and statesmen to help the Raja in the affairs of the State, thus leaving the other industrious classes free to develope their peaceful arts, that the field of activity for this latter class and its generation should be limited to trade and commerce. As regards the priests they had already become an indisputable caste, for they had in their possession all the learning and wisdom of the nation, which readily distinguished them from others. After having established the three classes : the Brahmins, the priests ; the Kshatrias, the warriors ; the Waish, the Commercial class ; the Hindu legists had also to deal with a new element that had been introduced into the community by the inevitable results of war with the aborigines. There were these dark skinned people belonging to quite a different stock, who might have easily filled the place of slaves, if their conquerors had been any other nation but the Hindus. But the institution of slavery was utterly foreign to the pure mind of the early Hindu, and the traditions of freedom were so much ingratiated into his life that he could not imagine the possibility of a man being the property of another man. And it is in dealing with the Sudra question in those benighted ages that the Hindu has shown to the world the real mint of his character as a thorough humanitarian; for he solved the most difficult social problem of the day without sacrificing humanity to political needs. That the Sudras were given the lowest place in the social scale is only natural, and those who object to this arrangement need not go beyond the present phase of our history to find out their mistake.

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Thus it was that the four castes came about. The principle involving this organisation cannot be seriously questioned in face of the conditions that obtained then, and the entire system affords a good example to show with reference to the present state that what we call disorganisation is only an exaggerated expression relative to conditions. But at the same time there is no denying the fact that the degrees of organisation admit of vast differences in the human progress. The history of civilization has all along been the history of the gradual development of different types of organisation, not only in one department of human activity but nearly in all the various functions which man has been called upon to discharge. There is a unity of principle which holds good in all cases.

Up to now we have been dwelling on one aspect of the question only; but to comprehend all the vast number of items that can be treated under this category, we must clearly understand the definition, which should be large enough to cover the immense variety of facts. To organise a thing, we are told, is to give an organic structure to a thing. "Organised beings" says the physiologist, "are composed of a number of essential and mutually dependent parts." Again, "an organised product" says the great metaphysician, "is that in which all the parts are mutually ends and means." These two definitions of an organised being by two different schools come to mean practically the same thing, although the spheres of science represented by these two are widely divergent from each other. One deals with the hard and fast rules of Nature as it exhibits them to the human senses in its daily working; whereas the other treats of the ethereal phenomena of mind and soul as distinct from the mundane manifestations of matter and force. Though they speak of the organised being, we can, neverthless, deduce the definition of the abstract word thus: Organisation is the act or state of so putting all the parts that they shall be mutually dependent on each other and that the whole shall act as one body. From this it will be easily seen why it has been said above that there is a unity of principle which holds good in all cases. The principle is, of course, the law of causation; but the method in which this law works and the conditions that it brings about go under the comprehensive title of organisation derived from the Greek word "organon" meaning instrument.

Now we have to ascertain the elements requisite for setting up a state of things to which the term organisation can be appropriately applied. At the very start the idea of some purpose presents itself to the mind. There must be an end in view for the object to achieve. Suppose a man's object is to get food sufficient to satisfy his own and his family's appetite. Needless to say that this object of man has been the primary one in all times and in all countries, however uncivilized or wild. Further suppose that the man is in possession of a plot of land which he cultivates, and has a family of two sons and a daughter, and is fortunate enough to own a cow as well. For the simple purpose of procuring a day's meals he will till the

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ground to make it yield corn which his wife will grind and prepare bread. One of his sons will probably be sent out to gather dry sticks of wood to make fire with, the other will go into the forest to hunt, and the daughter will milk the cow. But perchance the cow gets wild and does not let any one touch her, then the father will very likely call his sons to his assistance and with their combined help bring her to submission to be quietly milked. In short, thus by employing himself and all his family members in several as well as combined occupations, he will be able to achieve the one end—provision of foodstuffs for the satisfaction of hunger. Although this crude example flavours of primitiveness, yet it is a good illustration of the principles involved in the complex problem of organisation. The first is that of the division of labour. The sphere of the wife's work is different from her husband's, and yet is as vital for the ultimate purpose as his. The labour of the children is also essentially contributory to the end. Then comes the principle of the co-operation of labour, when the cow gets out of control and they all combine their efforts to subdue her. These two principles go to the very foundation of every organisation, and the perfection of a system depends upon how far they are scientifically utilized in its work. They have existed from the earliest times, and in the history of the world many nations have been made or unmade according as they properly understood their utmost importance and profited by them or ignored their natural operation. In some ancient States we find that in the conflict for supremacy between two rivals, the State that is conscious of the advantages of division of labour and also knows how and when to combine its efforts, invariably gets the upper hand; as civilization advances, the work of organisation becomes more and more complex. When the tide of Muhammadan conquest was sweeping over the countries of the East and the conquerors had not had time to organise the administration of the subject countries, we notice that the commander of the forces was also the head of the civil departments, but later on when the empires had been founded on a firm basis, the proper delimitation of the civil and military functions was a matter of course. The reason why their organisations ultimately broke down and did not prove as effective in latter years, is to be found in the Orientals' extreme attachment to and respect for the past traditions. Any innovation in adapting the old institutions to the needs of the changing times was, and, to a great extent still, is seen with the eye of suspicion. They not only abhor the idea of introducing new things into their old ways which are consecrated by long-standing practices and observances, but they have a blind conviction that what has been done in the past is perfect and cannot be, in any respect, modified or altered with advantage. The one baneful result of this prejudice has been conspicuous in arresting their progress. It seems that they were marching on the high road to the ever-increasing civilization, when all of a sudden some cruel hand of fate forcibly prevented them from further advancement, and they are to-day where they had made a halt four or five centuries ago. This stationary tendency has asserted itself in every walk of life. The system of education which obtained then is to be found

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now in our old-fashioned Moslem schools of theology without the slightest alteration. They are exactly in the same stage of development as they were years ago. On the other hand, the European institutions of education which were in many respects the replica of the Arabian system and were more or less modelled on the same lines, are now ahead of them by five hundred years ; hence they afford another illustration of the point under our discussion. In the beginning they had essentially the same organisation, but now after the lapse of so many years, the one which was made moribund through sheer ignorance and prejudice is a model of disorganisation in comparison with the other which it was the special care of the workers to keep up-to-date and susceptible of reform. The principles of division and co-operation, however, lie at the root of both the medieval and modern organisations of culture ; but there is a vast difference in the degree of efficiency. In the same way the organisations which superseded the former ones were decidedly an impovement over them.

It is not confined to the circle of human activity that we can perceive the universal principles of organisation in full play, but we detect the same in the animal world also. Who is unaware of the systematic government of the bees' hive ? where there is a well defined division between the workers and the non-workers, where the whole administration is under the supervision of a queen, and where every worker has an allotted amount of work to do, thus displaying the instinctive intelligence of the principle of division of labour. If, however, their hive is attacked by an enemy then they show the remarkable ability of co-operation in repelling it. Their method of arranging the work is instinctive and therefore flawless ; but our systems are not based upon the unshifting foundations of instinct. They are the product of collected and assimilated experience of a whole race. They are in fact experiments to find out the real solution of the problems that confront us in practical life. We want to attain to a certain object, and in order to do so we try one method and if it fails, we give trial to another more effective. Hence those who have taken their first experiment as the final, are naturally and by their own folly doomed to failure in the march of progress. Perfection is our goal, and to reach it we must try every possible mode that the mind can suggest or earthly means can provide.

When we consider the present stage of the European civilization in the light of our own backwardness, the whole thing becomes as transparent as a crystal, and we find ourselves constrained to admit that they—the European nations—could not be otherwise than what they are, and our position is what we duly deserve. For what is a nation ? but a complex organisation of individuals thinking as a whole, acting in one spirit and body, and working for one another. The sense of unity of purpose and a true sentiment of nationality can only be fostered by a well organised and sustained effort of the people.

For a perfect organisation, be it national, political, religious, social, or economical, there are however other essential elements besides division and

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co-operation. The morality of the members as is exhibited in a keen sense of duty, is as important as their intelligence and capacity for work. Taking an economical case let us suppose that a firm of bankers have a very excellent organisation of their business; they have many branches and every branch is divided into several departments to simplify the complicated work; in short they have availed themselves of every modern improvement in the management of financial affairs. But their employees on whom the successful working of the whole establishment really depends, turn out to be dishonest men, then despite the best and skilful arrangements the firm will break down before long. Not a few cases of this character can be quoted from memory. In other spheres also morality has not been slow to show its tremendous force. In our own history we know too well how on the battlefield of Plassey Meer Jafar's morals played an important part not only in the fate of Bengal but in the destinies of the Indian Empire; for it is only fair to concede that on the whole the Nawab's forces were never so miserably organised as to be utterly routed by a handful of soldiers under Clive. On the other hand many episodes of romantic history can be called to mind in which the heroism of one factor of a whole organisation has led to the glory of the nation, while an individual's act of treachery has been the cause of disastrous effects. Spartan chivalry at the well-known pass of Thermopylae actuated by the keen sense of patriotism is a glorious example of the organisation to which they had been trained from the very childhood. Again, it was through the organising genius of the Caliph Umar that a few years after the Prophet's death the flag of the Islamites was triumphantly flying over distant lands; but all his genius would have been of no avail if the Moslems had not been fired with the new zeal which was imparted to them by a high moral standard of attaining salvation through self-sacrifice and martyrdom for the cause of righteousness.

Even to-day in the training systems of the armies we behold that physical exercise and daily drill, the latter chiefly, consist of practising implicit obedience to the commander's orders and is really calculated to implant moral discipline into the soldiers' conduct. On the battlefield the moral of the troops is of utmost importance; for it is the only real and fundamental element of organisation that a general can depend upon in the end. Although in active service the soldier's intelligence counts very little, for his business is to obey the command whether he understands its expediency or not, yet we must not conclude from it that intelligence in organisation is only secondary in importance. The movements of the soldiers are nearly always according to a well organised and well-thought out plan of the campaign by the head officers, and success in their tactics rests upon their intelligent view of the strategic points. The General is like the mechanic who has a clear idea of the design and the working of the machine. He puts the parts together and sets them going. Now, if his plan is based on right and scientific principles and the parts are so put as to be mutually dependent and co-operate in producing the desired result, then it will work successfully otherwise not,

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but the intelligence of the parts, which are like soldiers on their duty will not affect the result.

Similarly a good chess player has a clear view of his scheme of attack and defence, and in moving the pieces he really organises his forces in such a way that the one supports the other. Those who play chess would have often noticed how strong a position is effected when a bishop is supported by a pawn which is in turn protected by the bishop. In fact the game of chess is so scientifically contrived that it is the best illustration of the utility of the principles of organisation on a small scale. As on a chess board the pieces when rightly manoeuvred hem in the enemy's forces and make him powerless by depriving him of the opportunity to make full use of his resources, so in the actual struggle of life an organised government completely inveigles the individual and reduces the stubborn element in him to a nonentity, and he finds himself caught like a rat in a trap. The same is true of a nation. Thus it is clear that the item of intelligence is as vital in making a system effective as any other.

I will now reiterate the conclusions that we have been able to form in discussing this subject. We have seen that organisation in essence is an abstract term to signify the means and the method producing a certain result; that there are roughly four main principles which underlie every good organisation. The first and second are the division of labour and its co-operation, the third is morality in its widest sense, or in other words a regular discharge of duty by the factors that go to make up the entire frame of an organisation, and the fourth is intelligence in planning.

It is also desirable at this stage to explain the difference between organisation and organism. The ordinary linguistic usage has attached a special meaning to the latter in order to distinguish the two kinds of organised bodies. The one is generally applied to any systematic arrangement of the parts in a whole; but the other is reserved for such systems only as are capable of growth from within, for instance all plants and animate objects are organisms. Thus every being has an internal organism in its constitution which undergoes several changes in the process of metamorphosis, *i. e.*, a process of self-development; but the methodical arrangement of its hive and the whole machinery of government by which honey is produced go under the term of organisation. Again, an oil or steam engine is a perfect organisation for propelling purposes; but cannot be called an organism, whereas a lily plant which has no power of moving about, is a complete organism.

It is a debatable point whether in the human organism there is any such thing as a soul, which is capable of existence apart from the mortal frame, or what we call soul is in fact a subjective state—consciousness—resultant from the organised condition of the body. Ray would have us believe that "Those nobler faculties of the soul, organised matter could never produce." But the majority of scientists take the opposite view. There cannot, however, be two

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different opinions as to the fact that whatever be the true nature of the soul, its manifestations are all organised and cannot be otherwise. When the mind, taking it as only an index to the soul, is unhinged and distraction prevails in the individual's consciousness, it is evident that "those nobler faculties of the soul" which, in the words of Ray, "organised matter could never produce" vanish in the chaos; not because the soul has left the body, for if it were so, the individual would have been dead, but because the make-up of the soul has been impaired by some cause or other, and this points to the phenomenon that that spiritual entity—the Soul—in common with other earthly organisations is not invulnerable. Let us examine this minute question a little further in order to grasp a more lucid conception of the point at issue. The problem of soul, as we all know, figures most in the province of religion and theology, and it will by no means be too sweeping an assertion to say that every religion of the world is a human attempt so to solve the mystery of the "eternal soul," and every one of them owns to itself exclusively the right method of soul-saving.

Most of them pre-suppose its existence and treat it as an undeniable premise. Moreover the whole structure of these religions is permeated through and through with the ethereal tonic of soul; take this away, and they lose all their vitality and force, and become mere insipid institutions. But in spite of the high-sounding celestial attributes it is noticeable that our theory of the soul is supported by the very forms and characters that the speculative dogmas of religions have attached to it. In most of the revealed religions it is one of the cardinal doctrines that the souls after departing from this world are allotted respective places according to their merits in the eternal regions, if the individual had led a virtuous life, his soul would naturally be given a suitable place in company with other good souls; but if he had been a bad lot, he would have to suffer the torment of the Purgatory to be purified. Then there are very elaborate organisations to torture the wicked souls in the everlasting fire. Indeed, it affords very amusing entertainment to read the account of all the minute details of the daily routine in the inferno, so fantastically created by the imaginative minds of some great religious enthusiasts. It is, however, instructive to note that the whole establishment is ingeniously founded upon the principles generalised from human experience. There is, we are told, a head officer who supervises the vast management of this torturing place and keeps the key. The whole institution is divided into innumerable departments so that the work of burning and scalding the sinners may be facilitated. Its staff consists of the creatures of fire whose very appearance is frightful to the sinner; moreover these devils are devoid of all pity or mercy. The sinners are handed over to the department to which the punishment of their special sins belongs. For instance, in the department for punishing liars, liars are subjected to a treatment suitable to their sin, such as drawing their tongues with a red hot pair of tongs. Similarly in every separate department the method and punishment vary in direct proportion to the character and amount of the sins.

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It is, however, open to criticism whether those fiery tormentors gain agility and skill in dispatching their business by long practice as a necessary result of the sharp division of labour; for at least in this world we know it for a fact that by dividing labour and keeping the working man to one trade, his skill and agility are increased. A man who at the start cannot turn out more than 200 nails in a day, by long practice is enabled to make five times that number in the same period. Shortly the argument is that if the heavenly organisations for punishment follow the principles of human or earthly origin, then they must follow them in entirety, and not in that part only which evidently fulfils the object of sophisticated minds. In this connection I remember seeing an old picture representing a scene on the early English stage. An imitation of the celestial systems for punishing the unbelievers and sinners was characteristic of the early plays in the evolution of the English stage; for nearly all the plays in those medieval times used to be either Biblical episodes or of distinctly religious type. The scene in question depicted the condemnation of Saladin. The gigantic mouth of the inferno was wide open to receive the chief sinner, and the Christian priests with mitres on their heads were accusing him of the grossest crimes before God. The conqueror of the Crusaders was made to stand on the edge of that bottomless pit ready to be thrown down into the blazing flames. He was also surrounded by the fiendish looking officers of the Hades who had pitch-forks in their hands and were waiting for the order to push him down.

In a word such organisation for eternal torment, notwithstanding its grotesque aspects, serves to show that those theologians who were so much concerned to prove the detached nature of the soul, had to evolve out of their nimble wits some means to effect retribution, justice, and in attempting this even the highest flights of their unbridled imagination could not take them out of the grip of natural laws and they at last fell back upon the primary principles of organisation to form a mere conception of the ways and means of the unseen world. As a matter of fact if we only pause to reflect on the constitution of our beings, we will find that even the intangible perceptions, feelings and thoughts are all organised. Our consciousness is not a chaos, it is not a muddle of emotion and sensations, but it is a perfectly organised entity.

Merely to have an intelligent knowledge of a thing, we must digest and assimilate and thus organise the information, casting out all that is unnecessary by a natural and systematic process of selection. I will take just one more example to illustrate my assertion that all human thought—excepting the creations of insane minds of course—is the organised product of a highly organised consciousness. It does not need any historical exposition to show that in all countries and in all times language proceeded grammar; and that the people among whom a certain language flourished were invariably unconscious of the strict rules which regulated the expression of speech. But later on when the grammarians set to the work of systematisation, they

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found that there was a tendency in the parts of speech to obey certain laws, that the mass of materials was already organised and what they had to do was merely to put it in a manner intelligible to themselves. They did not invent the rules but they discovered them. And it is in this phase of the growth of language that the intuitive faculty of organisation in the human mind is to be traced. In my view it is the Soul in every science and art that is developing itself outwards, and in realising itself is exhibiting its own wonderful organism, but I have taken this particular example of language, because it is a peculiarly human institution ; in fact the medium of communication between souls. What is true literature ? but the genuine expression of the Soul. If the Soul had not the germ of system, all our activity would have been conducive to disorder and confusion *ab initio*, but on the contrary we see that the world—the visible and outward manifestation of the Soul—day by day is going ahead and tending to more and more systematic form. Indeed, we would not have had any conception of God if it were not for our organised thought.

In conclusion, let them who are desirous of seeing their country and nation rise to the heights of glory and take a suitable place in the comity of nations, remember that neither can the outburst of strong passions nor the self-consuming flame of patriotism, nor the earnest prayers of helpless minds, nor even the fervent hopes of God's mercy lead them to success ; but the organised action based on the calmest logic and actual experience of the stern realities of life is the only sure way to make their ideals realizeable; and in short in organisation lies our Salvation.

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IS PEACE ATTAINABLE?

By "A RECLUSE."

THE present is a time of hard struggle not only for physical existence, but also in the domain of thought. Invention of new methods and new machineries is the speciality in the physical world, while creation of sensation seems to be the business of some workers in the world of thought. If we study the current literature we are confronted with all sorts of theories and prophecies about imminent struggles waiting for the human society, and it appears as if the whole world is living in a state of terror. Some go round the world trumpeting that war between this great nation and that is inevitable, and others come forward to describe with horror the coming scene of "colour" devouring "colour." Thus they pass their restless days and nights in dreaming of fighting and killing and never have time, nor inclination to think if the human race after all is one, and if these horrors can be avoided, before they pass from thought to action. But there have been others in the world who have pictured the future with bright colour and always hoped for better. We may try to see if there is any ground for such a hope.

It is human nature to long for peace and to be good to one's self and his neighbour; but unfortunately we allow ourselves very often to be led astray by petty circumstances, as if we have no faith in our own strength and in what we profess. We are disposed to reconcile ourselves to our present undesirable state on the excuse of the impracticability of our ideals and aspirations. Just as the social workers have no strong faith in the practicability of the ideals preached by them, and go on preaching their ideals and theories for ever and ever without any great effect, so the political peace makers go on issuing peace rescripts without any faith in them. As the religious workers spend millions and millions in building temples and churches, but do not seriously take trouble to build temples within their hearts, so the heads of nations preach peace to others but do not seriously try to establish peace among their own people. The Tsar of Russia issues peace rescripts, the Emperor of Germany preaches peace sermons very often, the sovereign of the British Empire is an ardent friend, or a near relative of almost all the ruling soveriegns, and every one of the heads of other nations declares his earnest desire to maintain peace of the world. If these mighty rulers are sincere in their desire and have any faith in their preachings, then who on earth is there to break the peace? As regards religious ideals, if God actually appears before one while he is uttering "The Lord's Prayer," as a matter of routine and graciously promises that his prayer will be granted—he will be delivered from temptation and will no longer have any feeling of enmity towards anybody. The devotee will probably be horrified at the prospect of losing the chance of satisfying his present *desires*, and will pray again to be allowed to retract his former prayer, and satisfy his morbid longing for things to which he is so dearly *attached*. Exactly in the same way the heads of nations while preaching for peace cling to their land-grabbing ideals, and each in his heart of hearts pray that while others may follow, in practice, his advice, he may be allowed to carry out his schemes. So we see the nice spectacle of the head speaking of peace and the under heads making preparation for war.

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They say that by being always ready for war they will secure peace. Mr. Winston Churchill said "Behind the development of war force lay the claim of a great power to put its distinguishing characteristic mark upon mankind. There was a danger of men becoming fascinated by the existing terrible fighting machinery, but if two great civilized nations went to war they would be heartily sick of it before the conflict finished. The best way to make war impossible was to make victory certain." Is it possible then to reach any limit in the preparation for war, or, are the resources of the world so unlimited as to cover all the waters with battleships, or air with airships, or shut up every individual in barracks or in the holds of men-of-war? Certainly it is not possible to secure peace by being ready for war: at best it is like one tiger staring at another and waiting for an opportunity to jump at the other's throat; for the feeling of jealousy, distrust, enmity and greed is there, and the sense of preparation only aggravates these cankers of human life. If the war preparation must have a limit, then why not stop this now and work for peace in more rational ways. Here we might consider the hopeful words of Mr. Asquith. He said—"There has never been, I believe, in the same space of water, such an aggregation of the implements of destruction and as I went round the fleet and inspected at close quarter some of these magnificent, if monstrous, achievements of modern science, the *thought could not but occur to me whether the time might not some day arise, perhaps within the lifetime of some of the younger of those who are sitting at these tables, when this gigantic expenditure would be diverted into more fruitful and fertilising channels and the nation would be saved from an incubus which at present rests upon some of its best aspirations.* * * * * * We cannot afford so long as the world remains in its present temper, to neglect any means of making these interests secure against every danger. The maintenance of the supremacy—of our indisputable and invincible supremacy—at sea is the first and fundamental condition not only of the integrity of the British Empire but of the life of the British people." We wish Mr. Asquith could tell the world that he was going to exert the influence of his eminent position for realizing his hope instead of waiting for the next generation. Already there are millions of able-bodied, intelligent people shut up in barracks like invalid persons crippled in body and mind without having anything to do or think about, and wasting their time and energy in a most unhappy condition. If these people were free to work they could materially increase the wealth and happiness of the world instead of being a burden to others. The loss is not only direct but the indirect loss also is immense. Millions of people are compelled to pass their idle hours in dreaming horrible dreams of fighting and killing and thus they live in an undesirable state of morbidness, and create an atmosphere around them which is detrimental to the healthy growth of human beings. They are deprived of many of the rights and privileges of human life and they are almost dead to higher and purer aspirations. The navy again is taxing to the utmost the resources of nations, but still their frenzy is getting higher and higher to build "Dreadnoughts" and "Invincibles." The money thus wasted on militarism could be utilised in real promotion of peace by reducing poverty and crime and vice and wretchedness, and educating the people. But our eminent statesmen have neither time nor desire to think about these and when any such question comes before them they simply plead the plea of "no money".

About 8 millions of people are shut up in the army and navy of the world. These people are virtually dead to the society, nay, they are worse than dead.

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Their body and mind are pledged for the degradation of the society which has produced them, and for the destruction of their fellow beings and their homes and hearth !! There are about 100 Dreadnaughts ; (including those provided for) and 2,500 battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats, etc., belonging to different nations. If each of these dreadnaughts and others cost on an average £1,000,000 then it means that about £2,600,000,000 are lost on these war toys which may go to the bottom of the sea at any moment. The annual military expenditure of different nations is about £500,000,000 and this is increasing every year. Add to this the capital and labour engaged in building the floating forts and the devil's engines for destructing human life ! Human brain busy day and night in inventing devilish weapons ! What a magnificent use of the brain power !! Is it not ridiculous that those who cannot make even a blade of grass complacently play with human life !! There happened to be such men in the world who being disgusted with the sense of pride engendered by their literary work destroyed that work which gave rise to pride : can it not be expected that those who now feel proud of their devilish work will some day feel mortification, turn away from the path of the devil and get anxious to regain human nature, so that they may feel the sweetness of human fellowship ? If you have brain, use it for securing real peace and happiness, if you have money use it for improving yourself and humanity, if you have physical strength use it for succouring the weak, if you believe in prayer pray for the establishment of the kingdom of peace, so that your children and children's children may bless you for leaving the world better than you found it. When one thinks of the "Darkest London" and New York slums, he hesitates to admire the vaunted civilization of the present day. On one side it is all luxury and waste, and on the other dire poverty and wretchedness. Both lead to destruction. Civilisation does not consist in multiplication of Dreadnaughts and Maxim guns, but it consists in developing the higher faculties of human beings. Some countries have shown that there is no difference between man and man : a man can develop his power and rise to the top of the ladder if he is given an opportunity. But this opportunity can be availed of by the lucky few, and their number is legion who are being crushed under the pressure of poverty and ignorance all over the world. It is the noble duty of the lucky to help their weaker brethren upward. The blackest Washington can approach the whitest Washington in culture, and this shows the potentiality in a human being.

Another great evil which is working its terrible influence against the progress of the human society is the "Demon of drink." About 20,000,000,000 gallons of beer, wine and alcohol are annually consumed in different countries, what does this huge figure mean ? It means that about 10,000,000,000 bushels of pure food, the life blood of farmers, is converted into poison not for the good of the society but for degrading and ruining it. What a vast amount of capital and labour must be engaged for producing this poison ! The value in money of this vast quantity of drink is at least £6,000,000,000. Now if we take all these facts into consideration we can easily see what an amount of wealth is directly and indirecly lost to society, which if beneficially used could improve the condition of a very large number of the world's population. The money spent directly and indirectly on drink and militarism is surely enough to change the miserable condition of the human race. Therefore those who are knowingly neglecting their duties in these matters only to satisfy their greed and jealousy are responsible for this unhappy condition. They should lose no time to change the condition of affairs. Scientists

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are expecting that in time such methods and machineries will be invented as will very much minimise the labor for producing the necessaries of life, and the people will enjoy more ease and rest than they do now. If the losses society suffers through militarism and drink could be stopped, society would be immensely relieved just now. Some of the States of the United States of America have set the noble example of prohibition of drink. The whole world would be highly gratified and thankful if the other States of the U. S., and the other countries of the world could follow this example.

Possibly even the most inveterate imperialist and land-grabber sometimes gets tired of his hot ideas and sleepless nights, and earnestly desires that the kingdom of peace had better come and give him some rest and peace. Is life worth living if it has to pass all its time in restlessness and bitterness? It seems certain that peace cannot be had by animal fighting. Nations have been fighting for centuries for power and peace, and still they are as far from these as ever. Goddess of power is restless and she always moves her throne from one land to another; who knows that the same will not occur in future? Besides the natural forces of evolution, there are such unforeseen accidents as fire, flood, cyclone, earthquake, &c., &c., always happening in this world, and these do not obey the command of the most powerful man. It is a high privilege of the powerful to consider if it is possible to lay the foundation of peace on some substantial ground.

Generally peace means cessation of war between different nations, and the peace conferences also seem to work with the same end in view. The heads of nations when they send their messages to Congresses and Parliaments say "our relations with other nations are friendly and peaceful," but willingly or unwillingly they omit to say that there is hardly any peace and happiness worth the name among their own people. The people live in terror of the rich and the poor for safety of their property and life, and there are numerous distracting causes increasing to disturb the society. Still the heads try to amuse the people by saying their relations with foreign powers are friendly. They should look facts in the face and try to turn the march of events, when the sovereigns ascend their thrones, they declare themselves to be defenders of faith and rights and promoters of peace and happiness of their people. It is incumbent on them that they should realise the responsibility of this declaration.

Some say that after a century or so, there will be a great conflict among different colours. Instead of raising the alarm of war and destruction why not sound the bugle of Peace. Yes, they say "christianise the coloured people, and strip them of their destructive strength." This is a very pious and admirable desire, but it seems they are anxious to retain their own destructive strength and do not like to be touched with the Christian spirit. But if we look to the past what do we find? Were not sovereigns and presidents ruthlessly killed by people of the same colour! Did not one sect of the same blood burn numbers of people of another sect! Were not long and bloody wars, which made the earth almost unfit for human abode, fought between the people of same colour! Are not murders and robberies committed day and night among the people of the same race, nay, of the same family!!! Where is then the realisation of the higher aims of human life, and where are peace and happiness in the society of same colour? On the other hand are not good sovereigns and worthy men sometimes loved and respected more by others than their own people?

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We should not be blind to the fact that if we want to see the world better and happier we must look to something else than to mere animal power and material prosperity of the few. The more the increase of such power the more will be the greed and distrust and consequent restlessness. Peace does not concern one nation, or one colour, but it is the question concerning the human race as a whole. We must devise means to change the very nature of man. Give him good food, good nature and good aim, so that he can find out his relation with the Universal Goodness ; and then and then only enmity, jealousy and quarrel will all gradually vanish away. One in want, or in feverish haste for creating and satisfying new wants, cannot be expected to think of peace for himself or for others.

Sense of separation is the source of all crime, and we should not try to increase that sense. "I" and "my" are at the root of almost all the trouble. "I should have it," "my people should have this" ; these are the general cries. But if we analyse facts, what do we find ? We find that this sort of feeling instead of satisfying the needs of the society, merely aggravates the difficulties. The feeling of separation does not stop between one country, one community, or one colour and another, but when some practical question involving two different provinces arises, love for the country is forgotten, and "*my* Province" and "*his* Province" arrest the attention. Again when some question involves two different districts, one forgets his province and his attention is directed to "*my* district" and "*his* district." If we proceed this way further down we find everything centres to "me" and "me" alone. We not only forget others, but we are ready to jump at any other's throat on the pretence of the slightest real or imaginary provocation. It is easy to understand that as long as the individuals of any society will remain in this state, no peace can be effected by any artificial means. If, on the other hand we can broaden our "selves" towards families, neighbourhoods, towns, districts, counties, states, countries and then to the humanity of the world at large we can arrive at the desired solution.

There is plenty of land on God's spacious earth still waiting for the plough, and the bosom of the earth is full of treasure which if peacefully worked out can feed and clothe every one of the human race. If every one is well fed and well clothed then what will be the result ? The poor and the criminal who are now not only burdens on others, but menace to the peace of the society will become respectable members of the same. The money now lost on militarism and drink can profitably be spent for providing such people with lands, necessary equipment and education and culture. Then "there will be no more war among nations, the swords will be beaten into plough shares and the spears turned into pruning hooks." Of course they do not use spears and swords much now a days. They use smokeless powder and submarine shells, as if to escape the notice of the Spirit of Jesus, whose followers most of them profess to be. When the society passes through these stages there will come the opportunity for the full realization of "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man," and the whole human race will be bound in a cord of love and sympathy. Unless the body and mind, heart and soul act together any amount of fighting or preaching will not have any permanent effect. If the leaders of societies are in earnest to establish the Kingdom of Peace they must begin work at the bottom. If the stomach is empty, the brain cannot act and the heart cannot respond. That is why we are grieved to see so much sin and crime devastating the society though there are plenty of churches growing all around and good maxims being preached with ardent zeal. Just as we cannot

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expect to see fine, well developed fruits on an undeveloped and withered tree, so it is impossible to see a human being growing in love and spirit while he is struggling against poverty and ignorance, or is full of greed and jealousy which wither his real manliness.

If the heads of some prominent powers say—"we should reduce our fighting preparations by this much and others should do the same"—it will be impossible for anyone else to disregard this. So much money and life were sacrificed for abolition of slavery. Does not the slavery of human race to the murderous goddess of war and drink need more attention and sacrifice? Some worthy hero should come forward to dethrone her and enthrone in her place the smiling Goddess of Peace. May we not ask King George, the messenger of "Hope" and "Sympathy," to be the standard bearer of Peace. He is not a lover of much words, and has lately shown that he means action. He stands at the head of a nation who with good will towards and in combination with their cousins to the right and left can work magic if they so desire. The President of U. S. successfully stopped a tremendous war. King George with his peculiar position in the international relationship can do still more wonderful work in putting a stop to the possibility of any future war, and in securing peace within and without. If he convenes a conference of the responsible persons of different nations to settle a line of *action* there is no earthly reason why he should not succeed. Surely any amount of speeches or rescripts will not do any good. Peace is not a matter of speeches, prize essays, or conference resolutions. Strong faith and real earnestness will have to be brought to bear upon the question. As duelling between individuals is now-a-days considered shocking and horrible, so duelling between nations will be looked upon with the same feeling at no distant date. Fighting will be relegated to bulls and dogs and the human beings will find pleasure in cultivating godliness. But somebody should begin the work, and the lucky beginner will receive the blessings of God and human society as well.

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PSYCHOLOGY AT PLAY.

By Prof. C. M. MULVANY.

PSYCHOLOGY is not a word that readily suggests anything either amusing or useful. A great American psychologist, whose loss the world still deplores, Professor James, is said once to have told a class : "perhaps you will ask me what are the practical benefits conferred on the world by this interesting science. So far as I am able to discern, absolutely none." But, to say nothing of the attempts to apply psychology to education and medicine, an American Professor, Dr. Dill Scott, has expounded its principles in relation to successful advertising, the fact that certain colours stand out more than others, has been used in map-making to bring out the difference between hills and valleys, and Carpenter's *Mental Physiology* may supply good arms for common sense to take against the rising sea of superstitions. The object of this paper, however, is not to prove that pure science has its uses ; but, by bringing together a few tricks from the books, just to try to show that psychology may serve to amuse an idle hour.

For instance, take a sheet of paper and a coin. Make a mark on the paper, and placing the paper so that the mark my be just in front of the right eye, close the left eye and look steadily at the mark with the right eye. Keeping the open eye fixed on the mark, move the coin along towards the right, horizontally or with a slight inclination downwards, presently it will disappear, reappearing when moved further along or up or down. A similar blindness exists in the left eye for objects to the left. The reason is that light only produces an effect on the optic nerve connecting the eye with the brain through the intervention of a delicate apparatus which is wanting at the point where the nerve penetrates into the eye-ball. This point is on the nose-side in each eye, and therefore as the light enters the eye only through a small hole (the pupil) in front, the light which falls on this point and to which we are blind, must come from the far side, *i. e.* from the right when we use the right eye, and from the left when we use the left eye. We do not notice the blindness because the one eye supplements the other, the eyes too are constantly moving. Even with one eye fixed, we do not observe the gap in the "field of vision" for the pattern of the surroundings is carried on across the gap. Hence few people know that we are all partially blind in each eye.

Ordinarily the two eyes, being at a little distance from each other, get not quite similar impressions from the object to which

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they are directed. If they get exactly similar impressions, we see one flat object. This happens when we look at the sun and the moon, which are so far off from us in comparison to the distance between our eyes that our eyes are parallel when directed towards them. A similar effect can be produced artificially in this way. Place two similar coins in like positions on a horizontal line. Put the tip of a pea in the centre between them and steadily look at it while you raise it towards you. As you get it near the point where the lines intersect that join the left eye to the right coin, and the right eye to the left coin, the two coins will approach one another and form a third coin in the centre. This new coin is the product of the union of the identical impressions the right eye is getting from the left coin and the left eye from the right coin. The two other coins seen to right and left are the results of the light that falls on the right eye from the right coin and on the left eye from the left coin. This experiment does not work quite well unless the two eyes are equally balanced, which is not always the case.

Our seeing things solid or flat and at various distances or in the same plane, is due to our receiving somewhat different impressions from the scene before us by means of the two eyes : hold up your finger and look at it against the wall with one eye only and it will seem to be on the wall. Yet, if we take a photograph, especially one of an interior or any scene such that the perspective and shading are strongly marked and view it steadily with one eye while the other is covered with a hand, the picture presently ceases to be flat. The scene acquires the third dimension, distance, in addition to length and breadth. The effect is more marked if we roll up a sheet of paper and look through it in such a way as to see only the photo without any of its surroundings. The single eye does not show us distance, but neither does it, as two eyes do, compel us to see the photograph to be flat. The imagination, aroused by what we know well to be signs of distance, *viz.*, perspective and shading, and having nothing to check it, overpowers us so that we not only think of, *e.g.*, a corridor stretching away from us, we actually see it. The ordinary difference between the views got by the two eyes may be brought out rather amusingly by asking persons to point at an object, using first one eye only and then the other. In the following case artificially dissimilar views produce a curious effect. Roll up a sheet of paper, hold it in the left hand and look through it with the right eye : what you look at, will be seen through the left hand,

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We are familiar enough with the variety of views we get from one object by changes of position, but few know how easily our perception of size is altered. Women probably know more about this than men: "corpulent ladies are not found wearing checks, nor are tall ladies in the habit of wearing vertical stripes" (Dill Scott). Turn round a capital S or the figure 8, and notice the difference in the size of the halves. Or draw two equal lines. At the end of one draw short lines slanting inwards so as to produce the likeness of an arrow tipped at both extremities, and at the ends of the other draw similar oblique lines facing the opposite way and forming as it were two arrow-heads that point towards one another. The latter seems longer than the former. The reason for this is obscure. Again, mark off by dots two lines of equal length. Leaving the one line as it is, insert in the other intermediate dots. So divided, this line seems the longer of the two. The eyes being checked as they pass along it by the successive dots, more effort is necessary to look along the divided line than along the other, and the greater effort involved is translated as it were into greater space seen. With this may be connected the bigger appearance of the sun when it is low down than at noon. If at midday the eye looks straight up, nothing checks the glance: at sunset we look along the earth or sea, and the many objects between us and the sun on land or the waves and bright points of light on the waters at sea, hold up the eye, like the dots on the line. The effect of the dots we saw to be equivalent increase distance. But what looks big being far off, has been regularly found by us to be very big. This experience it may be, influences us so that we see the sun extra big at sunset, for opposite reasons the sun at the zenith is seen small.

The next tricks depend on the power of thought apart from will to influence the muscles. Take a gold ring, tie it to a human hair, and let it hang from a finger above a silver spoon. If it be held by a man, it will move along the length of the spoon, but if by a woman, it will move cross-wise. Or again, let it hang near something that when struck will give out a sound. Wait a while and the ring will begin oscillating and presently will strike the hour of the day. Our thoughts have power over our muscles quite apart from our will: think hard of any movement, and you involuntarily begin to execute it. But if so, why should a hair and precious metals, gold and silver, be required? The truth is, they are not required. Their use is only, by working on human readiness to believe the marvellous, to induce in the holder of the ring a

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confident belief that its movements will vary with the holder's sex or with the time of day. In fact, the movement of the ring depends neither on the materials used nor on the sex of the person from whose hand it hangs. A button will do as well as a ring, and ring or button moves as the person holding it expects it to move. Let your bunch of keys swing from its chain which you hold in your hand, and without any effort on your part it will swing straight if you think of its going straight, or in a circle if you prefer to think of its moving so. The only condition besides thinking of the movement or number of movements is that you must watch the movements, and so through the eyes be made aware of the direction of the movements which you are involuntarily causing. Such involuntary movements cause the writing of the planchette, thought-reading, and table-turning. Faraday proved this for table-turning by a simple apparatus. He took two boards, placed between them two rulers, and bound the whole together by rubber bands. A pointer was added that would show by its movements whether the under board or the upper moved first. Such indicators were placed on the table under the hands of the operators. Plainly under these circumstances, if the motion came not from the hands of the operators but from the table, the under board would move first, but if the hands of the operators started the movements, the upper board would move before the lower. So it happened, the pointer invariably showed that when the table turned, the first board to move was the upper one which was in direct contact with the hands. In another experiment in which four men easily lift up a man from the ground provided all five simultaneously draw a deep breath, the great thing is the Virgilian "they can because they think they can." The breathing of the man lifted is like the gold and silver in the first experiment, merely something to work on the minds of the four performers and increase their confidence in the event's coming off. The deep respiration of the lifters may have the further useful effect of fixing their attention on the matter in hand.

In conclusion, two tricks of touch. In one or two or more places touch a person with fingers of your hand in such a way that he cannot see how many fingers you are using and try if he can tell you correctly with how many fingers you are touching him. Again, having crossed the index and middle fingers lay hold of your nose with them and observe whether (in consequence of touching it with portions of your hand that usually touch sides of different bodies your nose even does not seem to be doubled.

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PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN AMERICA.

By Mr. G. GREENWOOD.

ONCE every four years the American people are condemned to hold some 50,000 separate elections to decide which one of their native-born, and therefore legally qualified citizens shall be chosen to fill the coveted position of President to which is attached a salary of £10,000 a year, besides allowances amounting to an additional £12,000.

Strange to say, American Presidents are elected by a body of which no mention is made in the constitution, and which was unknown and unthought of by the framers of the constitution. The Presidents are really the choice of party conventions, called National Conventions, and these conventions are the delegates of the managers, or wire-pullers of the respective parties.

The place in which the election is actually begun is the Senate, for though it has often been observed that no eminent Senator ever made the step from the Senate Chamber to the White House, this has not in the least diminished the interest taken in the attempt, and for obvious reasons.

During the year before the formal opening of a campaign, the Senate offers an excellent field for Presidential electioneering. It offers this through the senatorial control of patronage, and also through the debates, the reasoning of statesmen on the subject being of this sort: Presidents are elected by the States, but they are nominated by the convention which is composed of delegates from the States, and the States tell in the convention very much as they do in the election; that is, the largest States count very heavily, and the smallest States not at all. Therefore, it is very evident that the statesman who desires to secure the Presidency must start either by securing the delegation from some very large State, or by making his name so well known and popular that when it is brought before the Convention there will be a spontaneous movement to support him.

The process of selecting a President is divided into two parts, the "primary" election and the "general" election, both of which are equally important and entail an expenditure of at least three millions sterling during the campaign which commences about eighteen months before the time when the people have to elect the Electoral College.

No candidates are put forward, but the managers of the respective parties prepare for what they are pleased to designate the National Convention. The labour is very great, and the organisation is wonderfully perfect. In every electoral district of every State lists are prepared of men who "are sound on the goose," men who will do the bidding of the managers of the party.

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To clearly illustrate the method adopted by our American cousins it must be understood that in the United States there are no less than five distinct political parties, the Republican, Democratic, * Labour, Prohibitionist, and Populist, each of which practically work upon the same lines, and to fully explain this complicated system, let us take that of the Democratic party which may be said to consist of some six million voters.

Early in the year the committee in each State receives a notice to hold primary elections in each electoral division, and in response to this notice such an election is duly held in each district, with the result that a body of perhaps, 100,000 voters is concentrated into about 750 delegates who subsequently meet in convention and elect 18 of their number to attend the National Democratic Convention, thus, in two stages, concentrating 100,000 voters to 18.

Having decided when and where the National Convention shall be held, formal announcement is made of the fact to all good Democrats and to the country-at-large by means of a circular issued by the chairman, and as soon as the committee determine the place and time for holding the convention they touch the lever that sets the whole machinery in motion.

This committee, in a circular, prescribes the number of delegates to form the National Convention and the manner in which they shall be elected. The National Convention as defined by the committee consists of four delegates at-large from each State, and two delegates from each congressional district while, for each delegate elected an alternate is also elected.

Delegates-at-large are elected by popular State and territorial convention; district delegates by conventions called by the congressional committee of each district in the same way that representatives in congress are nominated. All delegates must be elected not less than thirty days before the meeting of the Convention.

All the delegates representing this one political party in each of the forty-five States are then sent to the National Democratic Convention which consists of 930 delegates and is the concentrate of the voice of six millions of Democratic voters. When assembled, it is the duty of these 930 men to concentrate the party choice into one man who shall be the party candidate for the Presidency, and this final process completes the concentrate from six million Democratic voters into one Democratic candidate.

This plan of concentration having been carried out by each of the five political parties in all the States, the work of the "primaries" is now over and the contest is actually narrowed down to two men, the candidate of the Republican party and that of the Democratic party, for, as a matter of fact, the candidates of the other three parties are in reality beaten before the commencement of the struggle which will concentrate the two rival candidates into one President.

* As a rule the Socialists join with the Democrats in the choice of candidates but very often they nominate entirely different men.

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Party sentiment as to leadership having been thus concentrated by means of these primary elections, the people are then called upon to choose the Electoral College, although the Presidential election is so far settled that one or other of the nominees will be elected President. It is only a question of party strength, party discipline, and party organisation. In November, the people will elect one or other of the candidates nominated by the rival conventions, and when the Electoral College is elected, the President is elected.

The meeting of the Electoral College is a mere formality. The Electoral College does not meet to deliberate, but only to vote for A or for B, each member being sent to the College to vote for A or B. Beyond that, the Electoral College has no more to do with the choice of President than have the telegraph wires which carry the news of the November elections.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the £. s. d. of a Presidential campaign reaches an enormous sum. There are acts preventing corrupt and illegal practices, but the politicians leave them on the shelf, to an extent far greater than that in England. The ways in which money may be spent would make many a Parliamentary agent's mouth water.

Collecting campaign contributions is called "Frying the fat." All sorts of people and industries in America enjoy Government favour or protection by means of which many of them have amassed considerable wealth. The Managers of the party in power are well aware of the fact, and as soon as Presidential year comes round they, by threats or cajolery, "Fry the fat" out of them in the shape of donations towards the expenses of the forthcoming campaign.

The trusts and their wealthy stockholders are naturally the chief sufferers of this process. Each railway in the country carries mail for the Government and as this service is paid for by excessive rates, Government hostility, or even Government economy, is a thing to be feared. Consequently, when collectors representing the party in power call upon the Railway Directors they are met more than half way.

The spending of these large sums of money is directed from headquarters in New York city, where sometimes an entire building is rented; and hundreds of managers and clerks employed. The first charge on the campaign chest is for printing a book of 250 pages containing every possible argument in favour of the party candidate. A copy of this book is sent into practically every home in the nation, while special statistical details, and even campaign songs are distributed broadcast.

Next to the printing, the most important item is the speaking. Hundreds of orators called "Spell binders," are engaged and sent out to "Stump" the country. Halls are hired in all important cities and villages for at least two or three nights in the month preceding the general election, while scores of paid speakers descant upon the merits and demerits of the respective candidates. Some of the most famous receive as much as £200 a night, but

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the majority get £10 for each speech, while some are willing to advocate the cause of their party for £2 a night.

By far the largest sums, however, are reserved for distribution on election day itself. A vast army of small—fry—politicians demand a certain sum to "handle" in the interests of the party. It is well known that a large portion of these sums stick to the fingers of the handlers, but it is an indirect form of bribery, and the party managers know what they are doing.

In the larger cities huge sums have to be laid out in subsidising tramps and others who are continually moving from place to place, to remain in one spot for at least thirty days so that they may be entitled to vote. In New York all the great lodging-houses are filled with these so-called "Floaters," gathered from all parts of the country. Their expenses are paid for the month preceding the election, and they are also given a pound or two on election day when, it is hoped and presumed they will remember their benefactors.

In some States, where the result is always uncertain, many men sell their votes as a matter of course, and will not vote at all unless they get paid for doing so. These individuals are usually bought up in "blocks of five" and conveyed to the polling-stations in carriages so that opposition politicians cannot get at them during the journey.

So far as the actual electors of the President are concerned—that is, the leaders and the wire-pullers of parties—it is a fight for place and pay. The contest is conducted with an utter disregard of decorum, or the interests of the Republic.

The press teems with fulsome eulogy and with scandalous abuse. No praise is too extravagant, and no slander is too infamous. Each party does its level best to vilify the other. To such an extent is this carried out that it was once remarked that "if the Angel Gabriel ran for the Presidency, the politicians on the opposite side would prove beyond doubt that he had stolen his silver trumpet."

As the day draws near the whole country is convulsed from coast to coast. The bar-rooms are thronged with alcoholically excited patriots. Quarrelling and rioting are prevalent. The darkness is illuminated by torchlight processions, and the vast community appears to be under the influence of childish delirium.

The night before the election the two Chairmen issue their final address to their respective parties, urging them to be vigilant and determined on the morrow, when the headquarters which have for so long been the scene of such activity will be entirely deserted until midnight; but as soon as the polls are closed the rooms will again be crowded with politicians of all ranks, nervously awaiting the result which is generally declared about twelve hours after the last vote has been recorded.

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THE
Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.*

OUR MARITIME HISTORY.

By Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL, B. A. (OXON) Bar-at-Law.

THE recent publication of Messrs. Longman's on Indian Shipping marks the initial stage of a new era in the study of Indian History, for Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji's work is one of the first attempts by Indians to present a systematic survey of the secular activities of the Hindu race throughout the several phases of its career. And I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Mookerji, for a pioneer in his subject, has fully succeeded in his enterprise. A History of India could be and has to be written by Indians themselves. From this point of view the volume before us is a production on which both the author and his country may be congratulated.

This record of our maritime activities is introduced to the public by Dr. Brajendra Nath Seal, Principal of the Cooch Behar College. Dr. Seal heads the school in Bengal which is given to the study of Indian subjects with scientific faithfulness and at the same time with Indian sympathy. The spirit and method of Bengal school of scholarship are well illustrated by Dr. Seal's own works like the "Chemical Theories of the Hindus", and his paper showing the influence of Christianity on Vaishanavaism and Mr. Ray's work on Hindu Chemistry. Mr. Mookerji's monograph is another production of the same school with the special feature of being an historical study covering the whole period of Indian history.

* *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*, by Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Basu Mullick, Professor at the National Council of Education, Bengal; Longmans.

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History is national memory, but the national memory of the Hindus is at present as remarkably weak as their individual memory is strong. Hence the author felt the necessity of assuring us in the very beginning of his book that we have "ample evidence to show" that India maintained her position as one of the foremost maritime countries of the old world for a period which the author estimates at thirty centuries, but which may be safely taken to cover at least two thousand years. Likewise, we need to be reminded that we "had colonies in Pegu, in Cambodia, in Java, in Sumatra, in Borneo and even in the countries of the farther East as far as Japan", that we "had trading settlements in Southern China, in the Malayan Peninsula, in Arabia and in all the chief cities of Persia and all over the east coast of Africa," and that our trade relations extended to the countries under the dominion of the Roman Empire; in other words that the entire known Old World had been the theatre of our commercial and maritime activity.

It may be observed here that recent researches have led to the admission of scholars that Madagascar had come under the colonising sphere of the Hindus, and that Siam was conquered and colonised by them. The instance of Siam, where even an alien King is crowned to this day according to Hindu ceremonies and by the hands of prescribed agents, the Brahmans, and where Rama-Lila is played every year even to-day, once afforded a good illustration to the theory of Medhatithi, a theory suggested to him no doubt by the contemporary fact of the existence of a number of Hindu colonies. The great commentator of Manu laid down that the Hindu is not a geographical person to be confined within the limits of his own land, that the Aryans carrying their own civilisation, their Dharma and living according to it beyond Aryan waters, were good Aryans. The Hindus who made their home in Siam did satisfy the condition of Medhatithi; they adhered to their Dharma so faithfully that the marks of their social institutions on the soil of Siam have been indelible to survive to-day amid alien environments.

Hindu colonies are the strongest evidence of Hindu sea-faring. But Mr. Mookerji has also collected evidence of secondary nature from our sculptures, paintings, coins and literature, which coupled with foreign testimony leaves no room to doubt that India, designed as she is by nature for a maritime career, did take advantage of her physical situation

The author has utilised an important manuscript at the Sanskrit College Library, Calcutta, the *Yukti-Kalpa Taru*, a treatise on different organs of Government. It deals *inter alia* with the art of ship-building. The details of the different types of war-vessels and merchant-men it gives are of vast importance, and they await critical examination at the hands of technical experts. The date of the work has not been discussed. The authorship ascribed to Bhoja suggests its date to be after the time of the colonisation of Java from the Gujerat coast. The types of vessels of the Yukti-Kalpa Taru have been identified in earlier works, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

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In giving the earliest date of Hindu sea-faring the author refers to certain *mantras* of the Rigveda. Here I think the different views of scholars on the subject ought to have been discussed. Professor Macdonell, for instance, does not believe that the ocean as known to those who composed the hymns of the Rik. He holds that the *Sam-udra* merely refers to the lower course of the INDUS where the waters of the "seven-rivers" were *collected* and that reference to navigation point only to the crossing of rivers. But there is no difference of opinion as to our forebears' acquaintance with the sea when the Atharva-Veda was put in its present form. Its passages indisputably mention the ocean, and the fourth Veda might have been profitably drawn upon by Mr. Mookerji.

In dealing with the first period which the author calls the *Pre-Mauryan* he has ably put together the results of the researches and the opinions of Assyriologists and students of the Old Testament, which along with our Jatakas clearly disclose our navigation, and to commerce across the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf with Babylon (*Bavern*) and the neighbourhood during the centuries preceding the birth of the Budha. But Mr. Moorkerji is not justified in characterising the position of India in the Assyrian period as "The Queen of Eastern Seas" on the strength of the mere existence of a sea-borne trade in the hands of India. Also the matter at pages 95-99 though very interesting, does not seem to be quite relevant.

The *Mauryan Period* is one of the most exhuastive chapters in the book. The accounts left by Greek writers have been supplemented with some very interesting details, extracted from our *Artha-Sastra*, of the administration of ports and regulation of navigation in the time of the great Chandragupta.

The most important fact of the period which I would have liked to see Mr. Mookerji bring out, is a distinct imperial policy towards shipping. It is firstly, characteristically Mauryan, for the Mauryan system like the Napoleonic in modern history, would centralise everything in the hands of the State, or to quote the phrase of the *Artha-Sastra*, would make a matter "having one outlet" (*ekamukham*). Secondly, it is coupled with a marked policy of patronage and encouragement. The shipbuilders were exempt from taxes which other artizans had to pay. They received their victuals over and above their wages, (Strabo XV 1. 46). But they worked for the King alone. And it was "the Admiral of the Fleet" who let out the ships on hire for the transport both of passenger and merchandise. (*Ibid.*) This system of virtual nationalisation of ships and state control over shipping is to be considered in the light of, to use a modern expression, the fiscal policy of the time so prominent in the *Artha-Sastra*. Duties on exports and imports of home produces and foreign goods, the *nishkramyam* and *pravesyam*, had to be regulated according to the principle that commodities "useless" and "pernicious to the country" were to be suppressed and "advantageous," "rare and "seed" articles were not to be taxed at all.

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That the centralisation did not operate as an evil is borne out by the evidence of contemporary activities in navigation which I shall have occasion to discuss later. (Ar. Sa. II, 21.) The Admiral of the Fleet, who had the curious charge of letting out ships to the public, had probably to see that the vessels undertaking a voyage were occupied sufficiently to hold their own against the unfriendly and sea-faring Kalingas and Tamils.

It is quite in consonance with the maritime history of the time to assume as Mr. Vincent Smith has assumed (quoted by our author on page 113), that the relations with the powers in Africa and Europe were maintained by Asoka through his sea-going fleet. That the Mauryas had a navy is an acknowledged fact. But as to what part that navy played in the unification of India under the first two Emperors or to be more precise, the first two "Kings of Jambudvipa" is a matter awaiting * speculation. It will not be, I hope, out of place to suggest here a line of thought on the subject.

Accepting the view that the southernmost edict of Asoka proves Mahishmati to be a part of the Mauriyan Empire before the reign of our theocratic sovereign, who made only one conquest, that of Kalinga, we find that the Empire in the south and on the Bay of Bengal was not a continuous and compact territory. It was not an *Ekachhatra* sovereignty as the "wheel" of the royal chariot had adverse barriers in the brave Kalingas and the powerful Andhras together with Vindhayan tribes, between Mahshmati and the main body of the Imperial territory. That the Kalingas, who welcomed a bloody war before suffering to lose their individuality and who took an early opportunity to re-assert it under Kharavela, afforded passages to the armies of the predecessors of Asoka, is not a political possibility. That the Andhra kingdom, which, in the opinion of such a high authority as Prof. Rhys Davids, was the most powerful rival of the Mauryas, consented to let the Imperial forces pass through or by its territory and has itself cut off the system of Tamil states and placed between the all-absorbing empire on the north and south, would be an equally unreasonable hypothesis. An extremely probable view, to my mind would be to suppose that it was through the instrumentality of the navy going across the Bay of Bengal or coming down the Arabian Sea that the breach in the Tamil system was affected.

To return to the excellent volume before us. The story quoted by the author from Kshemendra's Avadana-Kalpa-Lata testifies to the existence of a strong tradition of our sea-borne trade of the time of Asoka, in the materials which were utilised by Kshemendra. But to call the passport-like credential of the Avadana "a Marine Edict of Asoka" is as unhappy as the identification of the Nagas with "the Chinese who are worshippers of the Dragon."

* It is to be noted that the Mauryas were Rajas or Kings and not Maharajahs or Overlords of India. This was in agreement with the express policy of Kautilya that a "one-king sovereignty" was to be aimed at. The idea seemed to be a development of the Sruti ideal of the *Eka-raja* so frequently met with in the consecration texts.

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The coins of the Andhra Period bearing shipmarks have been restored in illustration. Our Andhra coins are probably the only coins in the history of numismatics where the ship has been adopted as a coin emblem, although a patriotic historian lamenting in the sheep-rearing days of England boldly asserted that in older days English coins had on them the figure of a sheep. The Andhra Period saw a great increase in our shipping and navigation. The coins only symbolised the fact of our lucrative shipping. Our associating wealth with shipping in the coins we struck had a pathetic antithesis in Plieny's lamentation over the yearly "drain" of Roman gold to India for buying Indian commodities. Reading the remarks of Pliny one feels thankful to Professor Mookerji for his unwittingly providing the satisfaction to the Indian reader that the "drain" theory is as old as Pliny and that our Indian economists are at any rate in Roman company in respect of the "drain" theory, be that theory a cheap piece of economic wisdom or a true perception.

The communications with Rome were so frequent and familiar in the first and second century of the Christain era as to make it possible for our southern kings to import Roman soldiers to employ them as their body guards (p. 129). This facility of intercourse was not solely due to the enterprise of Hindu mariners whose large ships the periplus noticed almost all over the Indian Ocean. Political situation of the Roman empire was also a factor in increasing India's westward navigation; Roman Emperors had to court her friendship against their enemies the Parthians. "From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian their (Indians') political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sassanians, and their (Indians') commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the East and the West made the friendship of the Kushan or Sakas who held the Indus valley and Bactria a matter of highest importance to Rome" (From the Bombay Gazettere quoted on p. 137).

It is a pity that Mr. Mookerji could not reproduce the scene of shipwreck from Kanheri which goes back to this period (133-196 A. D.)

The Chapters (IV-VI) on the foundation of the Greater India are unfortunately very poor. They do not even mention the conquest and colonisation of Siam, nor the colonies in the West, for instance in Madagascar. In treating of the subject the author does not go far enough into the past. Mr. Mookerji's attention has been monopolised by the powerful Chola Fleets of the second century who traversed the Indian Ocean to the Indian Archipelago and by the colonizers of Java of the 7th century.

The beginnings of the foundation of a Greater India really go back to the Mauryan days. The process was started in the regions of the south-eastern waters now collectively called "Further India" by Continental peoples. Diodorus writing in the first century before Christ quotes Jambulos who would have naturally flourished before his time. Jambulos mentions Hindu colonies in certain islands which are identified by Lassen with Bali.

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(Indische alterthumskunde, III p. 7.) His narrative also shows that the sea route from the Ganges valley to Java and the neighbourhood were well known to Indians (Ibid "Es wird spater ausder Erlauterung des Berichtes des Jambulos und Seiner Reise hervorgehen, dass der Seeweg von den Gangesmundungen nach Java und Bali den Indern schon bekannt war und von ihnen benutzt wurde.")

We have again, the contemporary evidence of the Mannu-Smiriti to hold that in the second century B. C. our sea-borne trade had reached such a stage as to require a principle for deciding suits brought by maritime carriers against shippers for freight, and also to necessitate special laws as to loans to those engaged in shipping trade : "For a long passage the boat hire must be proportioned to the places and times ; know that this (rule refers) to (passages along) the banks of rivers ; at sea this is not the principle." VIII, 406 ; as to loans to shippers ; sec. VIII, 157. The age of Mannu's Code has been discussed by me elsewhere. See Calcutta weekly notes, vol. 15, No. 42.

Alexandrinos also in his geography mentions towns with Hindu names on the peninsula of Malacca, Sinda in Siam colonized by the Sindai, Aganagara in Cambodia, and some others in the neighbourhood. The foundation of these and those described by Jambulos must have taken some time, and making allowance for it, we can safely assign the beginnings of our Greater India to the Mauryan period. The Sanskrit names and the appearance of Sindh amongst the colonizers prove that the earliest colonies were planted by the Northern and Western India, and that the North had superseded the maritime South in oceanic enterprises under the Mauryas.

The most important contribution to the history of Hindu navigation is made by the author's bringing to light the pictures of our typical, large vessels in which our countrymen went out to Java in the beginning of the 7th century. These are copied from sculptures of the famous Borobodur. They show a very developed class of sea-faring vessels fitted with complicated sailing arrangements and apparently also with the mariner's compass. They await critical study at the hands of experts.

That navigation and colonisation was a favourite topic in the 6th and the 7th centuries is eloquently told by our Ajanta paintings which have been aptly called the National Galleries of India. The naval scene of the conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya reproduced in the volume though artistically little better than the tapestry scenes of the Normans crossing the English Channel is an unmistakable indication of the national psycology of the time.

Our intercourse with China is in itself an important chapter of our history. It is generally not known that thousands of Hindu missionaries of Buddhist faith had already crossed the desert of Gobi by the fourth century A. D., and that it was one of these spiritual Marco Polos, the great Kumara-Jiva (His Chinese writings are ranked with Chinese classics for their literary excellence. This is an achievement by a foreigner which has remained unparalleled in the literary history of the world) who encouraged his pupil Fa Hsien

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to undertake a pilgrimage to the land of the Buddha. We have been familia for some time now with the monk's feeling home-sick at the sight of a Chinese fan in Ceylon which led to his renouncing the missionary route overland, and taking an Indian ship he hurried homewards. The Chinese themselves had not yet commenced navigating to India, while to the seamen of India the Chinese coast had been familiar for at least six centuries. Before Ptolemy's time the North of India had established settlements on that coast. (Our settlements on the Chinese coast were called Bramma and Ambashes [Sansambastha] Ptot VII 3,) which were famous enough to be reported in the West. (Lassen, Alt. III, p. 8.)

The early history of our intercourse with China by sea route may be divided into two period : the period beginning with the Mauryan epoch and extending up to the 4th century A. C. when the western coast and Ceylon had a dominent share in our Chinese shipping, and the period following, which may be called the period of Tamralipti where the nautical life of the country began to gravitate in the 5th and 6th centuries till it became the main link between our eastern colonies and the northern country. A state shipping was maintained from the port of Tamralipti between the Archipelago and this country in the 7th century, and it is in one of our State vessels that Itsing crossed the Bay of Bengal in 673 A. C.

From the 6th century onwards the majority of our missionaries who went to China preferred the sea route to the overland journey through the sands of Gobi and the troublesome outposts on the eastern frontier of China. The missionaries took advantage of our Chinese shipping which had very much developed on account of the lucrative commerce that was transacted between the two countries. The import of silks gave to this country fabulous profits, printed with dyes discovered by this country, they were shipped to Europe where they were well-nigh worth their weight in gold.

Reading through the chapter on "The Maritime Activity of the Bengalis," it strikes one that it would have been better to have avoided terminology which savours of localism and provincialism. Hindu history is super-provincial. If Silabhadra could be brought back to life to-day, he would be as much bewildered at being called "a devoted Bengali" as poor Asoka at the Epithet of " A Beharee Emperor " given to him! Provincialism was not *their* spirit. Throughout the Indan history one hardly comes across the feeling of localism. The very expanse of this country and the one common *dharma* engendered such a wide view of life as to bring forth the first universal religion and the first pantheistic theosophy of the world. We have to guard jealousy against the growing, unedifying territorial pettiness. It is as unbecoming of this country in view of its history as it is discouraging for its exhibition of a psychological trait too low for a modern society. Statements like "The Bengalis of Champa" would give handle to the pernicious tendency in a manner least expected or liked by Professor Mookerji.

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A very pleasant bit of history has been related to us by telling us the names of reputed ships used by our predecessors. It was for instance, *Nanda* who had the honour of carrying the pious ladies from Ceylon to China in 433 A. C. who founded the Bhikshun order in the Middle Kingdom, *Ganga Prasad* and *Sagar-Jhena* "the Sea foam" where two of the celebrated merchant-men of Vanga *Madhukara* used to head the fleet of the merchant-prince Dhanapati.

Hindu shipping went on developing; the tonnage of vessels increased enormously in the 8th and 9th centuries which the author crudely includes under the "Mohamedan Period." The treatment of the period as a whole is exhaustive and is the best in the whole book. Testimony of European travellers is extremely interesting. As late as in the Napoleonic days we find a Europeon saying (1811) "*the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping*" (pages 250-251). The great feature which impressed most of the European witnesses was the size of our vessels unknown to Europe of those days. For instance Marco-polo saw ships having 300 crew to man each vessel. The great peculiarity of our boats, in my opinion, was that they were divided into hundreds of independent and comparatively water-tight compartments to ensure against dangers of leakage.

Excellent reproductions of the vessels both naval and mercantile of the period are given. Our Marhatta vessels which are seen attacking British ships in the illustration give an idea of the standard of neat finish attained by our ship-builders.

The omission of the naval exploits of Chimnaji, brother of Baji Rao, against the Portuguese, is regrettable, and I hope will be remedied in the next edition. One also looks in vain for the familiar British despatches about our ships and shipping in Mr. Mookerji's book. No historian would be pardoned by Truth and Science for such a neglect. Dr. Seal assures that no evidence has been clipped, let us hope that the omission is not due to any intentional clipping.

It is a little soothing to note that living relics of our shipping days are still to be seen playing round Norway, Scotland and Holland (page 246).

The book ends with a "Conclusion" of a practical nature based upon facts and figures. It is a forceful appeal to the people and Government to revive the national shipping of India.

After going through the book one is left to wonder 'What were the causes of the decline and disappearance of our national shipping?' A superficial view might suggest the explanation in the introduction of the steam-engine. But the decline had already commenced before the steam-ship was invented. Without materially altering the character the invention could

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have been easily borrowed and naturalised as has been done in Japan. The real causes were political and social. In the later Maharatta days the navy was neglected, and the merchant shipping depended solely on the power and enterprise of individuals. The existence of our shipping divorced from state was an impossible one. Then the private enterprise seems to have passed into the hands of those who were considered socially inferior. A prince or a Brahmin ambassador might undertake a voyage to Europe in the decadent period in ships manned by Hindus alone, but long before the status of sea-farers had been degraded. Hence the navy of Sivaji had to be put under the command of a non-Hindu. Hence also the eventual failure of the Maharattas to create and maintain an effective navy. Socially high, and therefore the more intelligent class of men kept aloof from the sea. Add to this, the theory of the then Indian rulers, as gathered from the circular letter of Haider Ali to the princess. Even the genius of Haider could not realise, but seems to have under-rated the value of a navy. This state of affairs against rising, powerful and socially superior maritime nations was bound to bring about a total collapse of India's shipping.

The book is a mine of information and a monument of patient and scholarly work. Mr. Mookerji has undertaken to supply facts and not to deduce conclusions, generalisations from facts he has left for others. The work, as it is, will remain indispensible to the student of Indian history for a long time. Any praise for the conception of the work cannot be too high. The discrepancies and defects which I have noticed with a view to see them removed in the next edition, simply sink, to use a figure of Kalidasa, into insignificance amid the lustre of the merits of the work.

Before closing the subject I take this occassion to draw attention to an interesting custom. All over the country there seems to be a national custom to dedicate symbolic ships to the ocean on different days in different parts. For instance in Bengal the Makara Sankaranti is the "Ganga Sagara day" on which this custom is observed. In the Antarveda the day is kept in the beginning of the rainy season when it becomes easier to sail down to the Ganga Sagar or the Bay of Bengal. The days observed by the west coast are not known to me. An enquiry might profitably be made and information gathered with a view to solve the mystery. What is the secular significance of this Maritime Day? Was it to contribute so many vessels to the State Fleets as that of Tamralipti in view of the fact that there are indications of the existence of some such obligation on the part of each town in Hindu India. Or was it merely a convenient day to launch new vessels and to set sail to the ocean?

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VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

FINE ART IN INDIA AND THE EAST *—II.

By Dr A. K COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc.

BUT it is now needful to return to the consideration of the second kind of universality, which in our view, enters largely in the finest Hindu work. We may remark, that it is not altogether unrecognized by Mr. Vincent Smith, when he pays tribute to the greatness of the Ceylonese Kapila, or quotes Mr. Fry's eulogy of the great horses at Konarak (pp. 95, 196).

One might argue that Hindu philosophy, or to be more exact, the Vedanta, represents universal values, as we observe indeed when we realise the identity of its teachings with those of Plato and of Christian metaphysics. But this would not wholly serve us, for Hindu art is essentially an expression of religious rather than of purely philosophical ideas. Only the conception of Unity everywhere underlies variety, and what else but the perception of unities is the motive power of any religion.—'I and my father are One'? The Indian religions at first however seem very strange and provincial. This however is a question of the language in which they find expression, it does not apply to their real content. The Christian or the Shinto theology must appear no less provincial to the Hindu. We have to escape from such limitations of outlook, and to recognize that Hinduism, like other religions, is based on inner experience and draws its symbolism from life. What then are the values in life which it glorifies? Perhaps most clearly *Peace* alike in meditation and its action, *Love* recognizing one life everywhere, and oneself in all life; *Authority* and *Order*, in reverence for teachers and kings, and in the conception of the four castes; *Service* and *Duty*, as in Hanuman or Sita; *Sacrifice*, for love's sake, as when Buddha forebore to enter Nirvana, or for some special end (because every power is bought by some sacrifice.) These are universal values; though they are not likely in modern times to be popular values. The spirit of democracy is fundamentally opposed to these ideals to admit of their acceptance even in centres of culture, except by the few.

We may cite one instance that has come to our notice. We are informed that lady students at Cambridge, who study Nala-Damayanti dislike the story because they consider Damayanti a milk-sop for being so much in love with Nala. (We may remark in passing that less than 25% of these students marry.) The devotion of women for men, which is one of the values emphasized in Indian art, both literary and plastic, is thus antipathetic to the modern spirit; the presence or absence of cultivation (*sc.* information) does not affect the appreciation of the art. Learning does not always inform us of the realities of life and therefore does not always enable us to judge of the value of works of art. For, as Mr. Rothenstein remarks "a just sense of the realities of life forms the only possible ground from which the labours of artists, whether ancient or contemporaneous, can be appreciated or found wanting."

* *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*: Vincent Smith. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911; £3 3.0 L'Art: (A Rodin, Paris,) 1911 Fr. 6. Two Drawings by Hokusai: (W. Rothenstein, Campden), 1911, 6/- *The Flight of the Dragon* (L Binyon. Murray, London) 1911, 2/- *Aesthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*. Benedetto Croce. Macmillan), 1909, 10/6.

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We have noticed a few definite errors. For example figure 199 is described as Sarasvati enthroned. Presumably this error is taken over from Kinsbergen, but Mr. Vincent Smith should have been too much on his guard to repeat it. The image of course represents Jambhala (Kuvera). The mongoose and the money pots are sufficient proof of the identification as Jambhala; but Mr. Vincent Smith goes out of his way to say that the mongoose is an attribute of Sarasvati. The Reception of a Persian Embassy (Pl. CXXIII) does not contain any likeness of Jahangir, though two of the figures are labelled in the original as Ganj Ali Khan and Ali Mardan Khan. The scene probably represents the surrender of Kandhar by the latter, to the Mugals in 1638. This information however is offered only as a correction, and not in a spirit of criticism, as it was not available when the photograph was sent to Mr. Vincent Smith. Another point deserving of notice is connected with the rock-cut Kapila in Ceylon (p. 94). Mr. Vincent Smith states that the head of the horse is not shown in the photograph. This is a mistake as it is clearly seen (Pl. XXIII) just above the middle of the proper right arm of the seated figure. It is true that one not familiar with the original work might easily overlook the horse's head, as it is obscured by shadow.

We may observe that the "huge collection in the *Bibliotheque Nationale*" contains very few Indian pictures of any importance, and the present volume loses little by their neglect. The chief private collections in India are those of the Tagores, Babu Sitaram Lal of Benares, the Maharaja of Benares, the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Maharaja of Bikanir, etc. In connection with calligraphy, we may mention that for the Indian fair-writers, Professor M. Hidayet Husain's edition of Ghulam Muhammad Dihlavi's "*Tadhkira i-Kushnavisan* published in Calcutta is a much more useful work than that of Huart; but unfortunately it is not available in English.

Surely, also, the excellent reproductions of Sigiriya frescoes (Pls. LXVIII, LXIX) are direct photos from the originals and not from the copies. On the other hand Mr. Vincent Smith nowhere indicates that some of the reproductions of Ajanta pictures taken from Griffith's work are almost travesties of the original work (the smaller panels and animals are however, good) and we are at a loss to know why the unimportant fragment from Cave XVII is chosen for the frontispice, since there are so many more impressive groups and single figures that might have been selected.

We are very much surprised at the omission of all discussion of the Silpa Castras, since their mainly technical, and only incidentally aesthetic, contents make them of importance from the standpoint of pure archaeology. The canons of measurement are of special interest in this connection forming an elaborate system based on a unit (the face) different from that (the head) used in the West. Even Sukracharya's work is ignored. We cannot but think this a serious omission in a work dealing with Indian art from the standpoint of scholarship.

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A great opportunity is also missed when the Hindu paintings discussed in Chapter IX, section 4 and 5 are not clearly recognized as representing (in part) the continuation of the old Rajput traditions and their true relation to the Mughal work elucidated. Nor is the Mughal work so well illustrated as to enable any student previously unfamiliar with it to clearly trace its development and decline. Especially open to criticism is the attribution of the drawings reproduced in Figs. 223,224 to the (Rajput) school of the Kangra Valley. They do not at all exhibit the marked stylistic features of that school, but are modern and realistic. Of the set sent by Mr. Wathen, indeed (p. 327, footnote), only the first mentioned is a quite typical work of the Kangra school. Even the interesting and charming group of goldsmiths, though rightly selected for reproduction, is too pictorial and realistic to be considered typical. The illustration of Rajput painting generally is quite inadequate, as must have been the case if Mr. Vincent Smith relied on the European collections alone. A beautiful example, however, rightly praised, is reproduced in colours on Plate CXXVIII. It is remarkable that this work, which we should entitle '*Siva Puja*' (rather than 'Marble building, etc.), should be by a Muhammadan. The style, as well as the subject are Indian; the same woman's figure is often met with in other works, differently composed, the original design of it being almost certainly from Jaipur. But none of the many exquisite and remarkable pictures, large and small, of Krishna subjects from Rajasthan and from the hills, are reproduced, nor any of those in which Siva and Parvati are seen in their lonely mountain haunts, as the Pahari painters especially loved to depict them. Mr. Vincent Smith almost altogether ignores the persistence of the old Indian schools of painting in places remote from the Mughal courts.

We agree with him that the Mughal painting "rarely display much imaginative power, and never, or hardly ever, any serious religious emotion." An almost exactly opposite statement could be made of the Rajput works from Rajasthan and from the hills. Compared with these, the Mughal paintings represent a merely local episode in the history of Indian art. A few words may be said about Indian influence on China. Of course, it is certain that China possessed a highly developed art of her own before the period of Indian influence. But we think that the immense importance of that influence is under-rated. Mr. Vincent Smith remarks that of the seven subjects of Chinese painting (history, religion, landscape, flowers, birds, beasts, portraiture) only the second can have been subject to Indian influence; Buddhist pictures, he says, form but a single sub-division of Chinese painting. He forgets, perhaps, that in the East, as once also in the West, there is no such distinction between secular and religious art sharply drawn as we are now familiar with; but even granting the limitation suggested by Mr. Smith, we ought to remember that, as Mr. Binyon * remarks, "practically all the earliest painting both of China and Japan which has

* The flight of the Dragon, p. 45.

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come down to us is of Buddhist subjects" ; so that it is not much to the point to remark that Indian influence must have been confined to these subjects. We could, indeed, wish that the influence of India on China and Japan had been traced in greater detail. The reference to the work of Bajna and his son (p. 313) at the Chinese court in the early seventh century can hardly be said by itself to "amply account for" the "marked Indian element in early Japanese art." Nor are the Horiuji frescoes "the only conspicuous instances" of such influence. There is, for example, the eighth century bronze lantern of the temple of Todaiji at Nara, which was exhibited in London in 1910. Of this Mr. Fry remarks (Burlington Nag, 1910) "India rather than China gave at this time its inspiration to Japanese art. In these bronze reliefs the influence of Indian types of face and gesture is unmistakeable."

There are also the paintings at the Hokaiji temple in the Yamalo Province.

Errors and omissions like those last referred to must, however, occur in every large work of scholarship, and they do not detract from the importance and general merit of the work considered. This work will be indispensable to every student of Indian art who desires to investigate that art for himself and it is not likely as a text book of archaeology to be superseded for many years. Indeed, what is most needed at the present time is the accumulation of *materials for* the study of Indian arts : when these are available, it will be possible to compile a work far more complete and more illuminating than that now before us, useful and important as it may be at present.

We pass now to the consideration of a number of other works on art, from some of which we have already quoted in criticising the last. Mr. Rothenstein's 'Note' is as illuminating as it is short. "What," he says, "is written upon a single work should enable people to apply clear principles to all works they meet with. To be sensitive to the forces that underlie all beauty, to draw clear and unhesitating attention to its presence in whatever form it may appear, neglecting the countless works, however adroit and seductive, wherein lies no essential expression of life, this is to be a critic."

"The idea of the Titanic impact of opposing forces of good and evil has from the earliest times impressed itself upon the imagination of mankind. The artist and poet have long grasped through their inspiration what men of science have approached so tentatively and so slowly, and the terrific energy of the upheavals which have helped to form the universe has nowhere been so profoundly expressed as in the literature and art of the East, most markedly perhaps, in the sculpture and epic poetry of India."

M. Rodin, the well-known French sculptor touches, on many aspects of art. He is perhaps truest when he writes of its contemplative and disinterested standpoint :—

"Yes, even in suffering, even the death of loved o es or in the treason of friends, the great artist (and I mean by this word no less the poet than the painter and sculptor) finds the tragic delight of admiration. His heart may be torn, but more

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strongly even than his pain he feels the bitter joy of understanding and utterance. In all that he sees he apprehends infallibly the intentions of fate. When he perceives beings destroying each other, the fading of youth, the decay of strength, the death of genius, when he sees face to face the will which decreed all these sombre laws, he rejoices more than ever in knowledge, and satiated with truth, he is terribly happy."

So indeed must have been the poets and artists who in India likewise have seen Siva face to face.

In the course of a discussion on beauty, M. Roden exclaims that he finds it everywhere. This beauty of which he speaks is not of course that mere prettiness or attractiveness which the popular acceptance of the word denotes; it is a quality of life, perception of which depends upon the artist far more than upon its inherent obviousness, beauty is, in fact, subjective. It is not an objective fact. In the course of the dialogues he is asked: —

"Do you not think that the antique beauty far surpassed that of our own time, and that modern women are far from being the equal of those who posed before Phidias?" He answers :—

"The artists of old had eyes to see, those of to-day are blind, that is the only difference. The Greek women were beautiful, but their beauty existed chiefly in the thought of the sculptors who represented them.....

"In truth, all human types, all races have their beauty; it is only needful to find it.....In short, beauty is everywhere. It does not fail to present itself to our eyes, but our eyes fail to see it. Beauty is character and expression."

Mr. Ludovici's book consists of a course of lectures delivered at University College, London, in 1910. It is well calculated to make the reader think. Its tendency may be best illustrated by quotation :—

"Following Nietssche closely, I have sought to demonstrate the difference between the art which comes of inner poverty (realism, or democratic art) and that which is the result of inner riches (Ruler Art).

Identifying the first with the reflex action which responds to external stimuli, I have shown it to be slavishy dependent upon environment for existence, and, on that account, either beneath reality (Incompetence), on a level with reality (Realism), or fantastically different frem reality (Romanticism). I have, moreover, associated these three forms of inferior art with democracy, because in democracy I find three conditions which are conducive to their cultivation, *viz.*, (1) The right of self-assertion granted to everybody, and the consequent necessary deterioration of world-interpretations owing to the fact that the functions of interpretation is claimed by mediocrity; (2) the belief in a general truth that can be made common to all, which seems to become prevalent in democratic times, and which perforce reduces us to the only truth that can be made common to all, namely Reality; and (3) a democratic dislike of recognizing the mark of stamp of any *particular* human power in the things interpreted, and man's consequent "return to nature" untouched by man, which, once again, is Reality.

Identifying Ruler Art, or the Art of inner riches, with the function of giving, I have shown it to be dependent upon four conditions which are quite inseparable from an aristocratic society, and which I therefore associate without any hesitation as Nietzsche does, with Higher Man, with Nature's rare and *lucky strokes* among

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men. These conditions are (1) Long tradition under the sway of noble and inviolable values, resulting in an accumulation of will power and a superabundance of good spirits ; (2) leisure which allows of mediation, and therefore of that process of lowering pitchers into the wells of inner riches ; (3) the disbelief in freedom for freedom's sake without a purpose or without an aim ; and (4) and order of rank according to which each is given a place in keeping with his value and authority; and reverence are upheld."

Illustrating these views, and comparing different arts, the author upholds that of ancient Egypt as the greatest which the world has seen.

This it may be, but whether so or not, Egyptian art is supremely great. I am willing that Indian art should be judged by the standard of Egyptian art and I am certain that it would infinitely increase understanding, amongst Indian students especially, if it were so judged. We recommend the book to Indian students, indeed, as eminently calculated to make them reconsider the opinions on many subjects which they may have regarded as axiomatic. At least, the severe and vigorous culture of Egypt " will give you a standard of measurement, according to which most of the present day will strike you as tawdry and putrescent." It will show you how to distinguish between the noble and the meretricious in any art.

In general, we can hardly do otherwise than subscribe to the view of arts here set forth, that it is the work of *gen us creating types* and *not of mediocrity imitating reality*. We think however that Mr. Ludovici, with Nietzsche (if we apprehend the matter rightly) confuses issues in condemning Christian art *because Christianity is a negative religion*. To do this is to make the old confusion between puritanism and asceticism. A good deal of Christian art is puritan, that is, it seeks to glorify *for all* the mortification of the flesh.

The materials out of which Christian art are moulded are not altogether unlike those out of which Indian religious art was developed. But how different the treatment ! In Christian art, the most spiritual types are attenuated and consumptive. They have for so long deeply attracted us, that it is with regret that we admit the truth of this criticism. In Indian art two values are glorified, asceticism (*tapas*) and work. The ascetic type is supremely valued; yet the ultimate type is not wasted or diseased, but a figure in the prime of physical power, though with entirely inward turned activity. The *gods* however are not ascetics; their duty is *work*, and they have accordingly their Saktis or powers for manifestation and outward-turned activity. In their figures all the passions of life are measured and glorified, not less than stillness is glorified in the ascetic life. Yet the religion and the art remain ' negative ' in that the unreality or temporary character of bliss and of work is never forgotten. We do not think that Mr. Ludovici realises the possibility of a great ruler art, founded indeed on a ' negative ' religion (and we do not understand how any religion can be, in this sense, other than negative—*neti-neti*) but differing from Christian art in its equal glorification of denial and affirmation. The full discussion of this point would, however, occupy more space than is here available. A significant matter in connection with

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the concept of Ruler-art is touched upon when the actual labour of building the pyramids is discussed. By modern European students the idea of accomplishing such great works is always associated with ideas of tyranny, forced labour, slavery, and the like. But says Ludovici in words of which the truth is self-evident:—

"It was with great rejoicings and not, as Buckle and Spencer thought, with the woeful and haggard faces of ill-used slaves that his (King Khephren's, people assembled annually to continue and complete the building of his pyramid....For it was highly probable that King Khephren had no standing army. It is certain that his predecessor had not. It is even probable that he had no armed bodyguard. What then was the power which, every year, could muster thousands of his fellow-countrymen about him, and which induced them cheerfully to undertake this most strenuous, this most skilful and this most highly artistic work for him? This power, there can be no longer any doubt, was the power of affection and profound and sincere reverence. An examination of the pyramids of Gizeh alone, apart from all historical evidence, is sufficient to convince any one who has any knowledge of what forced labour produces, that love was very largely active in the work of these Egyptians of the third and fourth dynasties."

Do we not know that the ancient kings of Ceylon had difficulty in preventing those who desired to share in the merit of the work, from contributing free labour towards the erection of the great dagabas? Indeed, it is not the great monuments of Egypt or of India that have been built by forced or slave labour, but it is the hideous cities of modern Europe that have been built by slaves. Of the Taj, Mr. Vincent Smith remarks "Such lavish expenditure on a single monument and its adjuncts is not likely to be repeated anywhere in the world." Indeed, we are now far too practical ; love no more seeks to spend itself in such magnificence.

We have left little space for the discussion of Benedetto Croce's book. It should find favour in India where such intricate and closely reasoned discussions are enjoyed more than is the case in England.

Its main thesis given in the title, that art is expression ; in this respect all the arts are one, and we ought not to imply by art, anything but music, poetry, painting, sculpture, dancing, etc. The separation of these leads to endless misunderstandings; as when we forget that painting is visible music, and sculpture tangible poetry. We should not, if we remembered this one fundamental principle of art, demand from the work of the painter an illustrative character which we know would be absurd in music.

Next, the appreciation of the beautiful has nothing to do with what we like or dislike, that is in so far as we desire to use the term beautiful in a strictly aesthetic sense. Above all, the beautiful is not an objective fact, existent physically in nature or in any work of art. What exists physically in these is the sympathetic or the attractive, (and correspondingly the antipathetic and repulsive). These are for every individual, and even for the same individual at different times, various, and cannot be made the basis of aesthetic criticisms. Neither can moral values be attributed to anything or any work of art in itself, though we may call a work of art noble or ignoble

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(which is not purely aesthetic criticism) in accordance with the spiritual standpoint from which it is uttered.

Thus, we cannot discuss the beauty of the human body, because there is no one beautiful type exclusive of others but a work of art is beautiful or not according as it successfully expresses some emotion or some type of character. The most beautiful works of art are not necessary, those which represent the most attractive persons or the most noble heroes. The artist as such is entirely a spectator, and in no sense a preacher. But in so far as he calls upon us to look upon life as a moving drama, to do which involves at least a temporary non-attachment, his work is spiritually educational, whatever its subject. And, in so far as he glorifies a type greater than we have been able to imagine, he raises us to his own level.

As an example of Croce's style, we shall quote a part of his discussion of natural beauty, which may be considered in connection with the extracts from Rodin quoted above; and with this we must conclude a too brief notice of Croce's most important and stimulating volume.

"Physical beauty is wont to be divided into *natural* and *artificial* beauty. Thus we reach one of the facts, which has given great labour to thinkers : *the beautiful in nature*. These words often designate simply facts of physical pleasure. He alludes to nothing aesthetic who calls a landscape beautiful where the eye rests upon verdure, where bodily motion is easy, and where the warm sun-ray envelopes and caresses the limbs. But it is nevertheless indubitable, that on other occasions the adjective 'beautiful,' applied to objects and scenes existing in nature, has a completely aesthetic signification.

It has been observed, that in order to enjoy natural objects aesthetically we should withdraw them from their external and historical reality, and separate their simple appearance or origin from existence.

All these observations are most just, and confirm the fact that natural beauty is a simple *stimulus* to aesthetic reproduction, which presupposes previous production. Without preceding aesthetic intuitions of the imagination, nature cannot arouse any at all. * As regards natural beauty, man is like the mythical Narcissus at the fountain. They show further that since this stimulus is accidental, it is, for the most part, imperfect or equivocal. One artist is, as it were, carried away by a laughing landscape, another by a rag-shop, another by the pretty face of a young girl, another by the squalid countenance of an old ruffian. Perhaps the first will say that the rag-shop and the ugly face of the old ruffian are *disgusting* ; the second, that the laughing landscape and the face of the young girl are *insipid*. They may dispute for ever; but they will never agree, save when they have supplied themselves with a sufficient dose of aesthetic knowledge, which will enable them to recognize that they both are right.

Artificial beauty, created by man, is a much more ductile and efficacious aid to reproduction.

* As we unconsciously admit, when we say of anything in nature, that it is picturesque, or like a picture.

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MYSTICISM AND MAGIC IN TURKEY. *

By Mr. S. Z. ALI., B. A.

MISS Garnett's *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey* is a very valuable contribution to "Dervish" literature. It gives a tolerably full account of the religious doctrines, monastic organisation and ecstatic powers of the diverse Dervish orders of Turkey. Although a "dervish" is, in common parlance, synonymous with a "beggar," he is really a person who voluntarily impoverishes himself and leads a life of retirement for the purpose of contemplation and devotion. Such a life has always been congenial to the Oriental mind and in spite of strict injunctions by Islam against asceticism, schools of Dervish orders sprang up from the second century of the Mohamedan era or even earlier. Sufism, which may be briefly defined as Islamic Mysticism, is the professed religion of the Dervishes. The Sufis say that their teachings are in accordance with the true spirit of the Qoran and true esoteric doctrines of Mohamed, but it must be owned that the central doctrine of Sufism—the pantheistic conception of God—is directly opposed to the spirit of Islam. It may be remarked, *en passant*, that Sufism, as represented by the various Dervish orders, has declined from its original ideals and the Dervish dress has often become a cloak for fraud and even libertinism.

After a preliminary survey of the early history of Sufism, Miss Garnett details the various Dervish orders of which the important are the *Mevlevi*, the *Kadiri*, the *Rufa'i*, the *Nakshbandi*, the *Khalvati*, the *Bakhtashi* and the *Kalendari* ones. Then she describes the spiritual heirarchy obtaining among the Moslem saints. She says in an interesting chapter:—According to the mystical canon, there are always on earth a certain number of holy men who are admitted to intimate communion with the Deity. The one who occupies the highest position among his contemporaries is called the "Axis" *(Qutub)* or "Pole" of his time.....These "Poles" are quite unrecognisable as such, save by other holy men, and may belong to any rank in life.....Subordinate to the *Qutub* are two holy beings who bear the title of "The Faithful Ones" and are assigned places on his right and left respect-

* By Lucy M. J. Garnett (London : Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 1, Amen Corner, London., E.C. 1912).

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ively. Below these is a quartette of "Intermediate Ones" (*Evtad*); and on successively lower planes are five "Lights" (*Envar*), and seven "Very Good" (*Akhyar*). The next rank is filled by forty "Absent Ones" (*Rijal-i-ghaib*), also termed "Martyrs" (*Shubada*). When an "Axis" quits this earthly existence, he is succeeded by the "Faithful One" who has occupied the place at his right hand, and the vacancies thus caused are filled up from the successive ranks. The "Absent Ones" are said to have a circular plan or map of the world, having for its centre the holy city of Mecca. It is divided into thirty sections corresponding with the days of the Mohamedan month, and on it are also denoted the points of the compass. The Forty set out from Mecca every morning in the direction indicated by their map for that day, returning before the end of twenty-four hours to make their report to the "Axis." Quoting Ubicini, Miss Garnett explains the metaphors of the Sufi poets as follows: The "Fair One" for whom in the *ghazels* Man, the "Lover" sighs, is the Deity; as is also the "Loved One" whom he entreats to throw off the veil that conceals His perfect beauty from view. The "Ruby Lip" signifies the unspoken, but heard and understood, words of God; "Nestling in the Fair One's tresses" devotes comprehension of the hidden attributes of the Divinity; the "Embrace" is the revelation to man of the divine mysteries; "Separation" or "Absence" from the "Loved One" is the non-attainment of oneness with the Deity. "Wine" is the Divine Love; the "Cup-bearer" the spiritual instructor, the "giver of the goblet of celestial aspiration;" the "Libertive," the Saint who has become careless of human conventionalities; the "Tavern," a place where one mortifies sensuality and relinquishes his name and worldly fame. The "Zephyr" is the breathing of the Divine Spirit, the "Taper," the heavenly light kindling the "Torch" which is the heart of the Lover, Man; and so on through every detail. These *ghazels* breathe, indeed, in every line a spirit of ravishment and ecstasy, "picturing the whole creation as filled with the Divine Love by which even the most humble plant is excited to seek the sublime object of its desires."

Then follows a very interesting description of the monastic establishments of the Dervishes. Speaking of monastic rule and discipline she says: "A Dervish *tekkeh* or convent usually contains from fifteen to thirty disciples, ruled over by a Sheikh. The Sheikh has unlimited power and authority in the *tekkeh*. If it is endowed with *vakouf* property, he sells the produce of the farms, regulates the expenditure of the *tekkeh* and distributes its alms. If his convent is

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unendowed, he looks for its support to the pious and charitable—the "Friends of Allah".....Each Order has its Chief Sheikh or General, who resides in the city or town which contains the tomb of its founder (*Pir*) and is considered the guardian of the sacred relics ..... If a Sheikh is a celibate, he resides in the convent where a special apartment called the "cell of the Master" is reserved for his use. Many of the heads of convents, however, are married though it is considered necessary for them to receive, in a vision, a spiritual dispensation before taking to themselves wives.....To arrive at the degree of spirituality required in those who fill the office of Deputy Prior, a Dervish must have spent much time in prayer, fasting and complete abstraction from all worldly pursuits. Besides being far advanced on the spiritual path, and familiar with all the mystical dogmas and tenets of the Order, he must possess the respect, reverence and entire submission of the rest of the community. By constant prayer and continued performance of the *zikr*, his breath, and even his touch, should have acquired a sanctifying and healing influence, and he must also be believed to possess the power of working miracles. He will be favoured with visions, and by their import his superior is able to judge when his spiritual training may be considered complete, when he terminates the period of his seclusion. He will then commence his pilgrimage to the holy cities and the tombs of the saints "

The stages of initiation into the various Dervish orders are graphically described in a separate chapter and another is assigned to their costumes and the spiritual significance attached to them. Among the religious exercises of the Dervishes, the *Devr* or dance of the *Mevlavi* order deserves special notice. To quote Miss Garnett: "Standing with his right great toe crossed over the left, and his arms crossed on his breast, he (*Semâ Zân* or elder) bows first to the right then to the left of the Shiekh, kisses his hand, and then takes up his position in the centre of the hall. The rest of the brethren, who have in the meantime risen to their feet, taken off their cloaks and let fall their skirts, now advance in single file. Following the example of the *Semâ Zân*, they bow to the right and left of the Sheikh's prayer mat, with crossed toes, arms folded, and hands grasping their shoulders, and then kiss the hand of their Master who in return bestows a kiss on their *kulahs*. This done, they immediately begin to turn, balancing themselves on the left foot while maintaining a rotatory motion with the right. The Sheikh meanwhile remains standing with devout mien and downcast eyes.

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Gradually the arms of the dancers are extended; the right hand is raised with the palm uppermost and the left lowered with the palm turned downwards. The eyes are closed and the head inclined on the left shoulder. Mentally reciting the *zikr*, they whirl round the "Hall of Celestial Sounds." The faces of even the youngest members wear an expression of deep serenity as they revolve to the sound of the flutes and drums, a music which appears to have an entrancing effect on those who understand its mystic language. For the Dervish "Lovers of Allah" it express the harmony of His creation in which they circle like the stars of the empyreau, isolated from the world in a rapture of spiritual love and communion with Him."

The author sees in talismanic charms and belief in the "evil eye' some survivals of paganism. Dervishes are "credited with the faculty not only of healing mental and bodily diseases, but also of counteracting the effects of witchcraft and sorcery, of interpreting dreams, recovering lost or stolen property, and even of restoring to wives the waning affection of their husbands." Some acts of the "Adepts" exhibit remarkable instances of will-power and telepathy which the West is just beginning to understand. An anecdote or two may be quoted by way of illustration :

It happened one day, as we (Sufi Bahauddin of Balk and his spiritual master Sa'eeduddin of Kashgar) were walking out together, that we came upon a number of people of the place who were engaged in the exercise of wrestling. We agreed together to aid one of the wrestlers so that he might throw his opponent, and afterwards to change our design in favour of the discomfited one. So we stopped as if to look on, and as we looked, gave the full influence of our united wills to one individual, and he was immediately able to vanquish the other. Each person we chose in turn vanquished his opponent, and the power of our wills was thus clearly manifested.

An eminent Sheikh, Syed Burhanuddin, had been a pupil of Bahauddin during his residence at Balk. On his master's departure from that city, the Syed went to Termiz and, after living some time there as a recluse, he began to lecture publicly. During one of his discourses he suddenly stopped and cried out in a tone of anguish, accompanied by a flood of tears : "Alas! my Master has passed away from this Tabernacle of Dust to the Abode of Sincerity!" His words and the time of their utterance were noted down, and were subsequently found to correspond exactly with the moment of Baha Veled's death.

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Although the subjection of women is a great bar to the formation of sisterhoods, yet women mystics are not unknown. To Rabia Basri, also called "Ummul Khair," belongs the honour of being the earliest woman Sufi.

Miss Garnett concludes her book with an estimate of the status and influence of the Dervish orders. They are held in great respect by Moslems generally although the *Ulema* have been their worst enemies. They were alternately honoured and persecuted by Mohamedan kings of yore. Their influence has been made use of by Sultans and Generals to spur the zeal and courage of the troops in battle. In Islamic countries where Western learning has not yet exerted its latitudinarian influence, they are still potent factors to be reckoned with whenever a wave of fanaticism sweeps over the land. Although the selection of the title is not a happy one, the book is interesting from start to finish and the illustrations add to its interest. Miss Garnett has taken infinite pains to study the Dervish institutions, supplementing her book-knowledge by personal observation. In dealing with the subject she shows a Catholicity which is not expected of a Christian writer and in fact some of her remarks savour of belief in some of the mystic practices of the Dervishes. We certainly recommend the book to students of occult science.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

LITERATURE OF TRAVEL IN FOREIGN LANDS.

South America: Observations and Impressions. By James Bryce, with Maps. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Lane, London, E. C.) 1912 Price 10*s.* 6*d.*

South Africa To-day. By H. Hamilton Fyfe, (George Bell and Sons, Ld., London) 1912. Price 6*s.*

America: Old and New. By J. Nelson Fraser (John Ousely, Ltd., Fleet Street, Farringdon Street, London, E. C.) 1912. Price 7*s* 6*d.*

To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise. By E. B. Soane. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1912. Price 10*s* 6*d.*

The New Italy. By Frederico Garlanda. Translated by M. E. Wood, (G. P. Putnam's Sons., London,) 1912. Price 6 *s.*

Japan, As I Saw It. By A. H. Exner (Jarrold and Sons, Warwick Lane, London, E. C.) 1912. Price 12*s* 6*d.*

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Servia of the Servians. By Chedo Mijatovick. New edition. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., No. 1. Amen Corner, London E. C.) 1912. Price 6s

The City of the World. By Edwin Pugh. (Thomas Nelson and Sons, London,) 1912. Price 5s

THE brilliant historian of the Holy Roman Empire and the most sound and lucid expounder of the constitution of American Commonwealth needs no introduction to the reading public. His latest book –a work of travel—recording the observations and impressions of a four months' tour round South America, visiting in turn the Republics of Panama, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, is luminous and picturesque, both as a record of his experiences and a summary of his views on the conditions and the future of South America. It is a book which will deservedly take a very high place amongst the enormous body of literature devoted to this continent, for it is written with rare philosophic detachment and great vigour. Mr. Bryce's descriptions of natural scenery and of the life of cities are vivid and he succeeds in conveying with extraordinary ability a real idea of South America and of the political and social conditions of the various States. The book is singularly free from bias and he seems to have a very just perception of the ideals underlying South American society as a whole, and of the individual States. About two-thirds of the book is devoted to a sketch of the tour while the remaining third is, in the main, a discussion upon South America of to-day. Of each of the republics he saw, Mr. Bryce has formed very pertinent opinions. The author is best known as one whose writings are marked by breadth of view and philosophic insight. These characteristics appear in prominent relief in the work under notice. Though very interesting and instructive books have seen the light of late on South America, as a whole, or on its individual States, Mr. Bryce's book outshines and outdistances them, in all that makes an ideal book of travel.

If South America is the coming continent, South Africa is the coming component in the British Empire. Regard being also had to the importance of the Indian question in South Africa, we, in this country, are bound to take an interest in the affairs and fortunes of the latest commonwealth in the Empire. It is some years since Mr. James Bryce, whose *South America* is noticed above brought out a graphic account of his impressions of travels in South Africa, but the march of events has made it now a little behind time. An up-to-date sketch of South African scenes and problems was thus certainly called for and it is fully supplied by Mr. H. Hamilton Fyfe—a well-known publicist—in his *South Africa To-day*, which includes an account of Rhodesia also. It is not only a series of travel-sketches presented in an interesting form but contains also the author's observations which are, on the whole, sound, on the country's problems. Altogether alike by its vivid descriptions of scenes and sights and shrewd criticisms of men and affairs, Mr.Fyfe's *South Africa To-day* is a notable contribution to British colonial literature.

Mr. J. Nelson Fraser is a well-known educationist in this country and an invetrate traveller. We noticed some time back, in terms of appreciation, his collection of travel-sketches called *In Foreign Land.* The characteristics we pointed out in the earlier volume—namely keenness of observation and a sympathetic attempt to understand the people and appreciate their good points, while not insensible to their faults, follies and foibles—are equally marked in his latest work. *America Old and New* presents the author's "impressions of six months' stay in the States" as stated in the sub-title. As a matter of fact, the book is more a series of observations of, and

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reflections on things American than the words quoted might lead one to think. Not that graphic sketches are wanting but the book—and it is all the better for it—is conceived and written more on the lines of Arthur Young's, than Sterne's. Perhaps the chapters on law and lawyers, and on literature and art will appeal most to readers in India. But the whole book is not only eminently readable but valuable for its sympathetic insight into the conditions and problems of the America of to-day.

Mr. E. B. Soane's *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise* is bound to take a very high rank in the literature of Asiatic travel. It is fit to stand side by side with the works of Palgrave and Doughty on Arabia. The author travelled from Constantinople to Baghdad but traversed a route a great deal of which has so far remained undescribed. His knowledge of Persian is extensive and enabled him to keep up his disguise by passing amongst the Persians as one of themselves. In the historical portions of the book he has been able, in dealing with modern history, to present the results of unique information, derived from reliable private sources, which thus materially add to the value of his book. There is not so much scope for observations and reflections as for descriptions and impressions in an account of the region traversed, yet the former are not wanting and are thoughtful and suggestive. The descriptions are vivid and picturesque and at places recall *Eothen*. Appended is a useful, select bibliography. Now that by the turning of the wheels of Fortune, the Asiatic Empire of Turkey is likely to come into greater prominence, Mr. Soane's interesting and instructive work is sure to interest a large circle of readers, both in the East and the West.

Signor F. Garlanda's *New Italy*, translated by M. E. Wood, is a critical study of modern Italy, written by an Italian professor under the guise of "Letters" from an American in Italy, to his friends at home. It is as fair a statement of Italy's case, national and international, as could be stated by a native. The various branches and phases of Italy's development are adequately dealt with, and although the author is severe enough when he treats of errors in administration, he is no "Little Italian." At the present moment, when Italy has come into prominence and is in the mind of the world, this book can be studied with advantage. The nineteen "Letters" cover a fairly extensive ground, descriptive of the political, social, industrial, literary, and artistic conditions of the Italy of to-day. While it is a great advantage for a people to see themselves as others see them, it is of no less importance for these "others"—*i.e.* the outsiders—to see a people as they see themselves. And when the native expounder of his country's affairs and conditions is one so sane and thoughtful as the author of the book under notice, the result is bound to appeal to all desirous of obtaining correct information at first hand. In this view of the matter, Signor Garlanda's book is highly useful and valuable and it is well that it has now been made, in its English translation, available to a larger public.

Mr. A. H. Exner's *Japan : As I saw It* is a slight sketch of a great subject, which has now been overdone. His descriptions of the Japanese cities and natural scenery are well written and make interesting reading, but there is nothing distinctive about them. The first chapter on the history of Japan and that on Shintoism and Buddhism are obviously compiled from well-known sources. The chief attractions of the book...the special illustrations in collotype, the engraving illustrations after Bigot and the duo tone illustrations, the engravings and the pictures drawn special by various special artists. These embhshments considerably add to the value

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of the letter-press and make it a most desirable possession, as they are of the highest artistic merit. We congratulate the author and the publishers on having turned out so unique and excellent a work of art and travel in one.

At present when the Balkan affairs are occupying the public mind to the almost exclusion of everything else, the publication of a new edition of M. Chedo Mijatvoick's *Servia of the Servians* is certainly very opportune. It appeared some years back and is a volume of a well-known series, each of which is designed to give a graphic sketch of one of the European nations. Italy, France, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Turkey and Belgium,have already been dealt with in the previous volumes of the series by well-known British writers, each of whom may well claim to be an expert in the affairs of the country and the people he has described. The volume under notice has the additional advantage like Signor Garlanda's *New Italy*—noticed above—of having been written by a distinguished native, who was formerly Servian minster at the Court of St. James'. The book is written on the same lines as the previous volumes, giving sketches of the historical events, political parties, social customs, national traits and economic conditions, as also some account of literature and art. The author is a master of his subject and has written an almost idea book of its kind.

Mr. Edwin Pugh's *City of the World* is—as the sub-title has it—"a book about London and the Londoner," and it is a capital work for the general reader. It does not attempt to compete with Baedeker, but it presents most excellent sketches of different aspects of London life, which are not to be found in any guide-book. It contains very readable and instructive accounts of some of the economic conditions of the Londoner, and should be found by all interested in the problems of sociology to be deeply interesting.

LITERATURE OF INDIAN TRAVEL.

The Indian Scene. By J. A. Spender, (Methuen and Co., Ltd. 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1912, Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

An Ignorant in India.—By R. E. Vernede (Williams Blackwood and Sons, London) 1912. Price 5*s.*

East and West. By D. A. Wilson (Methuen and Co., Ltd. 36, Eassex Street, London, E. C.) 1912. Price.

A Homeward Mail. By Powell Millington (Smith, Elder and Co., 15 Waterloo Place, London, E. C.) 1912. Price 5*s.*

The Lushai Kuki Clans. By Lt.-Col. J. Shakespear, (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, E. C.) 1912. Price 10*s* 6*d.*

An Indian Pot-Pourri. By Elisabeth Severs (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.) 1912. Price 2*s.*

AMONGST the many visitors whom the Great Darbar of 1911 brought to our shores was Mr. J. A. Spender, the very talented editor of the well-known "Liberal Evening Daily" of London—the *Westminster Gazette.* He contributed to that paper a series of sketches of his Indian experiences and they were at once recognized as about the most sympathetic, yet just presentation of some of the current Indian events and problems. The marvel was that one with so limited an experience—of but a couple of months—could have brought to bear upon the discussion of topics unfamiliar to him, more or less, so great an insight into and complete a mastery of the subject. Opinion was expressed from several quarters that such moderate, reasonable and thoughtful criticism of the Indian situation

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and conditions should be reprinted in book form, and the author has acceded to this demand by collecting the sketches under the title of *The Indian Scene*. We strongly commend the book to the notice of both Indians and Anglo-Indians, for Mr. Spender's survey of current Indian affairs is truly valuable, marked as it is by not only shrewdness and suggestiveness but a fairness which disarms adverse criticism. Altogether it is one of the very best, current books of Indian travel.

Mr. R. E. Vernede's *An Ignorant in India* is a work of a different type from that of Mr. Spender's. It is not, says the author, his intention of being guilty "of the usual crime of offering hints to Lieutenant-Governors on how to govern or even of undertaking, on behalf of the people at home, a complete and critical survey of the needs and aspirations of the Bengalee." Free from this kind of "blemish," the author writes his sketches in a light vien. They are headed "The First Day in India," "A Dead-water City of Bengal," "A Camp near the Pelicans." "The Collector and the Tiger," "On-off Sahib," "From a Bengal Verandah." "Hamlet at a Bengal Fair," "Speech Day in Crocodile Country," "The Patwari and the Peacock," "A Tramp through the Jungle" and "The Meet and the Parting." These headings better indicate the nature of the contents of the book than any characterisation of ours. The sketches are delightful and they will convey to readers unfamiliar with Indian scenes and sights a vivid impression of some of the lights and shadows of both rural and urban life in Bengal. In case a second edition be called for, the author would do well to excise the objectionable word "native," for an "Indian."

Mr. David Wilson's *East and West* is not strictly speaking a book of travel and description but it is none-the-less so in the more comprehensive sense of the expression. The book is a selection from notes and sketches written by the author during a long residence of a quarter of a century in Burma, published with the very laudable object of making the West know, understand and appreciate the East better, and the author may well claim to have succeeded in his efforts. The first step towards the solution of the problem is, he thinks, that East and West should begin to respect each other ; and this is impossible so long as the Westerns are guilty of treating the Easterns as an inferior race. Mr. Wilson writes sympathetically of the Easterns and in one sentence gives us a eulogy of the East as fine as it is deserved. "Not once as yet," he writes, "in all my time in the East . . not once have I received rudeness in word or action, inadvertent or intentional, from any man, woman, or child, Indian, Burmese, or Chinese", and, as he rightly says, this sweetening of life is a lesson that the West has to learn from the East. The pages which deal with the ancient Aryan element in the population of India are excellent reading, the many quotations from the Rig Veda giving especial charm to the imaginary descriptions of the earliest white invaders of the great peninsula. The comparisons drawn between the problems which faced the "Aryans"—problems solved by miscegenation mitigated by caste—and the problems facing the whites in South Africa and Australia are interesting. Taking the view that he does Mr. Wilson emphatically endorses the wisdom of Australian statesmen in refusing emigrants that would not be assimilated by white populations. Whatever one may think of Mr. Wilson's views on current problems, there can be no two opinions that his book is an authoritative and instructive work on the relations between the Europeans and Asiatics, and it deserves careful study and earnest consideration.

In a *Homeward Mail* "Powell Millington," known to the reading public by his excellent book *To Lhassa at Last*, has edited the letters of one Col., Johnstone, giving his views on various political, social and military matters in this country. He assures us that his uncle by marriage, was the best of correspondents with his family at home

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and hence we have extracts dealing with anything from the "White Mountain Expedition" to subalterns' court-martials, from the Unrest in India to Staff College specialization. There is so much variety in the chapters that they can be read without any regard to their sequence, and those dealing with military foibles and weaknesses, bad cases of red-tape, confidental reports and specialization should appeal to a large circle of readers now in the service in India. There are shrewd and sensible comments on the prevaling systems, and the humorous side of life is not overlooked, though a tinge of cynicism appears here and there. There are some amusing anecdotes to lighten the dissertations on serious subjects, and the writer trips from "grave to gay" with a confidence that is quite his own. His style is easy and effective. The book is one that will serve to fill a passing hour or two, and regimental libraries in particular would do well to buy it. The general reader may also find much to interest him in the opinions expressed on social problems in India and the relations between East and West.

The defunct Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam, had hit off an excellent scheme by which it not only spurred on experts to descant on the subjects best known to them but, by employing one of the foremost of the English publishing firms to bring out the books, it was able to place them in the hands of anthropologists, folklorists, orientalists, and all those interested in such kindred subjects, besides stocking the libraries of district offices. Mr. Hodson's excellent volume on the Naga tribes of Manipur—noticed by us in terms of appreciation—was brought out on the same lines. And now Colonel Shakespear's volume gives an excellent description of the Lushai and kindred clans. The author records stories of strange customs. Both sexes smoke immensely, and the lovers and husbands find an additional solace in the liquid out of the bowls of the pipes of their mistresses or wives. Held in the mouth for a time and then spat out, it is said to be most stimulating. If rice is the principal food, and fermented rice the common intoxicant, the Lushais and Kukis love meat of all kinds, and hunt equally white-bellied rats, puppies, fish, porcupines, wild cats, monkeys, bears, tigers and elephants, having devised different methods for capturing each. Religion, superstition, and folklore are all dealt with by Colonel Shakespear in turn and a number of folk-tales illustrate the lives and thoughts of the people. There are many customs which we can but refer to such as that of "Boi' which varies from almost slavery through the protection of sanctuary to a mere poor-law system for the relief of the indigent. But enough has been said to show how valuable Colonel Shakespear's volume is to students of many varieties of human thought. Prefixed is also a very useful bibliography, which enhances the value of the book. We hope that other Local Governments will see their way to emulate the example set them in the far east of the Indian Empire, by one that has now ceased to exist, but whose services to Anthropology, Ethnology and Ethnography will be gratefully remembered for many a year.

An Indian Pot-Pourri by Elizabeth Severs is a most delightful little book. It comprises fourteen interesting and exceedingly well-written sketches of the more or less familiar scenes, sights and cities of India, conveying to the reader's mind a sense of vividness and reality which is truly remarkable. The author is evidently a Theosophist and there is, therefore, "a tinge of the cult" in the sketches, but it is nowhere allowed to obtrude too much and not even a sensitive anti-Theosophist is likely to find it jarring. Our only regret is that the book is so short and the sketches so few. We would hail with pleasure a much bigger book by the author, conceived and written on the lines of the one under notice.

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OUR LIBRARY TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITRATURE.

THE first anniversary of the great Darbar sees the publication of its official and most authoritative record, by the Hon'ble John Fortescue, under the rather long designation of *Narrative of the Visit to India of their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary and of the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi.* Official records—at least in India—are generally dull, prosaic and dry-as-dust, but Mr. Fortescue's sketch is, on the contrary, a most vivid delineation of the events and incidents that made up the Durbar. For the benefit of the British reader, the auother has prefixed an excellent sketch of Indian history from the earliest times to the present day. The book is exceedingly well written and the author's comments lend a refreshing individuality to this history of perhaps the greatest event in Indian history in the twentieth century. The work is embellished with many excellent photographic reproductions and the get-up redounds to the good taste of the well-known publishers—Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. (London).

A popular *History of France* such as is now provided for by Mr. H. E. Marshall and published jointly by Mr. Henry Frowde and Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (London), was certainly a desideratum and the author is entitled to gratitude for his removing a long-felt want. The book is obviously not a work of original research, but a popular compendium, yet it is none-the-less welcome on that account. Though the language is exceedingly simple, the author manages to present a graphic sketch of French history from the earliest times to the establishment of the present republican form of Government. Primarily meant for boys and girls, the book is likely to be of great use even to their elders, who would care to make acquaintance with French history in an interesting narrative. The attractions of the book are enhanced by the many illustrations in colour.

In a country like India where a poet has sung that "there is no better clothing than the human skin itself, for it is a stuff which has neither a right nor a wrong side," it is unlikely that much interest would be evoked in a history of dress, but to such as take any interest in the many changes that clothes have undergone in the West, we would strongly commend the perusal of Mr. W. M. Webb's *Heritage of Dress* ("The Times" Book Club, London). The first edition of the book appeared in 1907 and it has now been carefully revised for its present issue. It is the best one-volume history of the "evolution" of clothes and its utility is heightened by the twelve plates and one-hundred and sixty-nine figures in the text. To one interested in the subject the book would be found deeply interesting.

Mr. Peter Wiernick has published through the Jewish Publishing Company of New York (U. S. A.) *A History of the Jews in America*, from the period of the discovery of the new world to the present time. Like most American publications, the book is exceedingly well got-up. It is claimed

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by the author that it is the first work of its kind and, so far as we have been able to judge of its contents, the work is certainly valuable, as it displays research and scholarship of no mean order. It is illustrated with the portraits of many distinguished Jews. Besides history proper, there are interesting sketches of eminent Jews in the arts, sciences and the professions, and of literature—Hebrew and English—produced in America, as also of Yiddish literature, drama and Jewish periodicals and newspapers,

Some time back Mr. E. B. Havell contributed to the *Hindu* of Madras a series of valuable papers on Indian arts and industries and he has been well advised in collecting them in a handy volume called the *Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India* ("The Theosophist" office, Madras). The papers contain the results of the authors twenty years' practical experience in art teaching in India. The cause which Mr. Havell has at heart is the revival of Indian art and craft, and the object of these papers is to establish a basis for a national art education. The book is a masterly study of the subject and contains chapters on "Indian Schools of Art" "The Ethics of Machinery" and "Handloom Weaving". As an instance of Mr. Havell's methods, it may be mentioned that he suggests that a part of the time set apart for physical culture in schools should be given to hand weaving, which would give results very similar to those obtained from the Swedish system of physical culture. Whatever be one's differences with the author on points of detail, there can be no two opinions about the value and usefulness of his work.

To the valuable "History of sciences" series, being published by Messrs. Watts & Co., (London)—and the previous volumes of which we have noticed in terms of appreciation—Mr. A. W. Benn has now contributed two compendiums called *History of Ancient Philosophy* and *History of Modern Philosophy*. Both the volumes are marked by the characteristics of the series to which they belong—namely scholarship, lucidity and excellent select bibliographies. Though there are many histories of European philosophy—large and small—the reader of Mr. Benn's brilliant sketches is likely to carry with him a more vivid impression than from any other book known to us. We commend these books to all students of the subject.

The three recent additions to "The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature," series—the features of which we have characterised more than once—are the *Wanderings of Peoples* by Mr. A. C. Haddon, the *Moral Life and Moral Worth* by Mr. W. R. Sorley and *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* by Mr. J. H. Moulton. These three books—the first one scientific, the second one philosophic and the third one literary—fully maintain the very high level of the earlier volumes. Written by experts, specialists and scholars in simple language, the series is bound to be an important factor in popular education and it redounds to the credit of the syndics of the Cambridge University Press—the publishers—that they should have initiated so useful an enterprise.

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Mr. P. Duraiswamy Aiyar has started a biographical series called "Prominent Tanjoreans" and he opens it with a sketch of the late Sir T. Muthuswamy Aiyar. The book is well written and well executed, but its two striking features are an Introduction by Sir Philip Hutchins and an appreciation by Mr. Eardley Norton. Both these gentlemen pay tributes of the highest esteem and regard to the memory of Sir Muthuswamy. The life of the great Indian Judge is full of interest and instruction and the work deserves a large circulation. The book is published by Messrs Mr. P. Duraswamy Aiyar & Co., Tanjore.

Messrs. Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. of Madras have brought out in excellent form a very comprehensive volume on Book-Keeping and Accounts by Rao Sahib S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar. The author is evidently an expert in his subject and his treatment of the subject is thoroughly practical. Altogether it is one of the most valuable works on Book-keeping and we safely recommend Mr. Aiyer's *Book-Keeping and Accounts* to all desirous to thoroughly master these useful branches of human knowledge. The get-up is particularly commendable.

We welcome the fourth instalment of twelve volumes of the "Peoples Books" (T. C. and E. Jack, London.) We mentioned their names and their authors in our last issue. Two of them—each an excellent little book—*Tennyson* by Mr. A Watson and *English Literature* by Mr. Compton Rickett, are the only volumes devoted to letters. *The Church of England* by Canon Masterman and *Free Churches* by Mr. Shillito will appeal to a limited circle in India. Three others—*The Baby* and *Marriage and Motherhood* by distiniguished doctors, and the *Training of the Child* by Mr. G. Spillers—are studies in child psychology and bringing up of the young. Those dealing with Science in its various aspects are *Co-operation*, *Navigation*, *Hypnotism* and *Structure of the Earth*. We once again commend this cheapest yet best series to the reading public.

An American millionaire, Mr. James Loeb, has organised, under the editorship of Mr. T. E. Page and Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, and with the assistance of an Advisory Board of eminent scholars representing Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France, a library of the Greek and Latin classics, giving text and translation on opposite pages. The series is to include practically the whole of Greek and Latin literature, "from the time of Homer to the Fall of Constantinople," and the original works will be printed in the best critical texts as approved by modern scholarship. Judging by the first ten volumes of the series, we cannot praise too highly the manner in which this wonderful undertaking has been begun, and we hope it will be widely supported. The ten volumes now issued by Mr. W. Heinemann (London) include Terence (2 vols.), Propertius (1 vol.), St. Augustine's "Confessions" (2 vols.), Euripides (2 vols. to be complete in four), The Apostolic Fathers (1 vol., to be complete in two), Philostratus's "Life of Apollonius of Tyana" (2 vols.), and ten more volumes are shortly promised. For the St. Augustine, the editor, Dr. Rouse, has wisely made a reprint of Watts's translation of 1631, with various corrections; the result is excellent.

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TO SAROJINI NAIDU: A POEM.

FAIR singer, touching with a hand so true
The notes of the great organ world of sound,
Mingling unerringly the chords profound
In strange, sweet harmonies. This homage due
I render, grateful for the music new
Which thou hast made my mother tongue to yield,
Like that young gleaner in the same rich field,
Toru, whose sheaves were gather'd all too few,
Before Death claimed herself the fairest flower.
'The poet's life must be itself a song
'Of purest music.' So great Milton spake.
Sarojini, sad India claims the dower
Of sacrifice her choicest souls among,
And thou hast tasted sorrow for her sake.

DELHI, C. F. ANDREWS.

Note.—Toru Dutt published in English verse a volume entitled *A Sheaf Gleaned from French Fields*' and a second volume called *Ballads of Hindustan*. She died at the age of *twenty-one*.

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IMPERIAL DELHI : THE ROME OF ASIA.*

Imperial City, crowned with sovereign grace !
To thy renascent glory still there clings
The splendid tragedy of ancient things,
The regal woe of many a vanquished race,
And memory's tears are cold upon thy face,
E'en while thy heart's returning gladness rings
Loud on the sleep of thy forgotten kings—
The silent lovers in thy sweet embrace.
Thy changing kings and kingdoms pass away,
The gorgeous legend of a bygone day,
But thou dost still immutably remain,
Unwearied symbol of great histories,
Unaging priestess of high mysteries,
Before whose shrine the spells of death are vain.

SAROJINI NAIDU

"TO the Indian imagination, Hindustan, is still the centre of India and Delhi is still the metropolis".—Keene's *Moghal Empire*.

Delhi has, no doubt, once again come by her own, by having been selected as the capital of the great Indian empire, on account of its historic importance and the hold that its splendid past has still on the minds and imaginations of the Indian people. Educated India is familiar with those lines in the eleventh book of the *Paradise Lost*, where

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*1. *Berresford's Handbook for Delhi.* Edited by Frederick Cooper (The Delhi Press, Delhi). 1863.

2 *The Archæology and Monumental Remains of Delhi.* By Carr Stephen (Civil and Military Gazette and Station Press, Simla), 1876.

3. *The New Guide to Delhi.* By Captain A. Harcourt. Fourth edition (The Caxton Printing Works, Bombay). 1876.

4. *Delhi : Past and Present.* By H. C. Fanshawe, C. S. I. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London). 1902.

5. *The Seven Cities of Delhi.* By Gordon Risley Hearn (W. Thacker and Co., London and Calcutta). 1906.

6. *Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Delhi.* Re-written and brought up to date, by E. A. Duncan. Sixth edition (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta). 1906.

7. *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archæology.* Compiled by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D (The Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta). 1908.

8. *Handbook for India, Burma and Ceylon.* By H. C Fanshawe, C. S. I., I. C. S. Retd). Eighth edition, with eighty maps and plans. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London). 1911. Price £1.

9. *When Kings Rode to Delhi.* By G. Festing. With Illustrations. (William Blackwood and Sons, London) 1912. Price 10s. 6d.

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Milton takes a bird's-eye-view of the Cities of old and modern fame in the mighty empires of the East and where he speaks of Agra and Lahore of the great Moghul, but does not make any mention of Delhi. Critics and commentators of that great poet conjecture that Milton derived the information, which he utilized in those stately lines, from the journal of his travels in the East by William Finch, who visited Agra and Lahore between 1609 and 1611 A. D., and gave a description of those places, which can be read with interest even at the present day. Finch visited India during the reign of Jahangir, when Lahore had the largest share of Imperial favour and when that great city was in its meridian days. Modern Delhi, which may be properly called Shahjahanabad, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century and its palmy days vanished with the departure from it of Aurungzeb for the south and the gradual declining of the successors of that monarch in power and prosperity.

Modern Delhi, is however, the last of the many cities and palaces which had been built on the fine plain between the Jamna river and the Aravalli hills, which have here their northernmost extension, terminating at about three miles to the north of the present city. The rocky uplands, some of which had been utilized for building the far-famed palace fortress and the Jama Musjid, serve as effective barriers against the encroachments of the river. The strip of land between the broad blue waters of the classic Jamna and the Aravalli hills, which had witnessed some of the bravest and the most romantic deeds of Indian history, had been recognized to have peculiar advantages for being the site of a great river-city and had been built upon from the dawn of Indian civilization. We find great cities and palaces standing on it from the first faint beginings of authentic Indian history. The ruins of several such cities still stand and their scenes and sights are worth visiting. They extend up to Toglakhabad about twelve miles south-west of Delhi. Of these cities built during the last ten centuries the most well-known are (i) Firozabad, founded by Firoz Shah Toglakh, (ii) Indrapat, which was inhabited by Humayun and Sher Shah, (iii) Jahanpanah between Siri and Old Delhi, (iv) Old Delhi containing the Fort of Rai Pithora and the Kutub Minar where the Pathan Kings of Delhi resided, (v) Siri, otherwise known as Shahpur, (vi) Toglakhabad, where Mahomed Toglakh sought to transfer the capital of the Pathan empire about 1320 A. D., which is now a mass of ruins testifying to the vanity of human wishes, and (vii) Modern Delhi, less than three centuries old, which was in the shade during the reign of the early emperors of the Moghul dynasty.

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Delhi has justly been called the "Rome of Asia" and it had been the seat of the various Emperors of India for over seven hundred years. The cities which enjoyed the name of Delhi and were the scene of the various imperial pageants are not all to be identified with modern Delhi but were situated on a broad plain on the west bank of the Jamna. These were abandoned one by one, till modern Delhi was built partly on the site of one of the older cities. The first mention that we have in history of a city standing on this site is in the epic of the *Mahabharata*. This great poem has for the scene of its principal events the city of Hastinapur or Indraprastha, whose site has been identified with that of one of the cities that stood on the area of about sixty square miles, between the northernmost spur of the Aravalli hills and the blue waters of the limpid Jumna. The two branches of the solar race are described in this poem, as having fought for the supreme power in the state on the battle-field of Kurukshetra, near modern Thaneshar, where the battle raged fiercely for many days. After the victory of Kurukshetra, which fell to the Pandavas, they are recorded to have abandoned this city, headed by king Yudhisthira. Tradition has it that Indraprastha stood where the Purana Kila now stands. The criticisms of competent scholars have been directed against this tradition and the theory embodied in it has been accepted by some and rejected by others. But there could be no doubt that, judging from the surroundings and environments, the great city of the *Mahabharata* stood on this plain and that it was abandoned for many centuries, before it was re-peopled again about the tenth century.

We do not find any mention of Delhi in the accounts of India that have been preserved to us of either the Greek historians, who wrote about the campaigns of Alexander the Great, or the Chinese travellers who visited India, in the sixth century of the Christian era, to pay their homage to those sacred spots which were sanctified by association with the immortal Buddha. Alexander the Great visited India about 327 B. C, and in the accounts that we read of his campaigns we find a mention of Muthra, which has been and is still to-day an important centre of Hinduism, but no mention whatever of Delhi. Neither Arrian nor Megasthenes speaks of Delhi, while there is no doubt that Muthra was one of the places taken by the Bactrian armies. The Chinese pilgrims, who have left us such elaborate descriptions of Indian cities and places of note, have not a word to say of Delhi, although all of them speak of Muthra, of its countless shrines and its boundless wealth. Mahmud of Ghazni, who

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made the Indian cities of note the object of his campaigns, never turned his attention to Delhi, if such a city existed in his days. All these facts make it pretty certain that the city of the Hindu kings of the *Mahabharat* had been abandoned and the tradition that it was inhabited again after eight centuries has a considerable substratum of truth to support it. The extensive ruins lying south of modern Delhi, and covering an area of about 45 square miles, are the remains of many forts or cities, built by the different kings. The oldest are the Hindu forts of Lalkot, built by Anang Pal Tomar, in 1052 A. D., and of Rai Pithora Chauhan—the Prithivi Raja, built by the king of that name, about 1180 A. D. These two forts, and the iron pillar at the Kutub, are the only remains of the Hindu period. The earliest Muhammadan forts or cities were Siri, built by Ala ud-din, 1304 A D.; Toglakhabad, built by Toghlak Shah, in 1321 A.D., and Jahanpanah, enclosed by Muhammad Toglakh, about 1325 A.D. Subsequently Firozabad was constructed by the Emperor Firoz Shah Toglakh, and the Purana Kila was founded and built by Humayun and Sher Shah. This new Delhi was not favoured by the Emperor Akbar and Jahangir, and the modern city dates from the commencement of the fort by Shah Jahan, in 1638, whence it was called Shahjahanbad. Delhi has been frequently attacked, and often captured since it was conquered by the Muhammadans of Ghor and became the temporary capital of the Muhammadan empire of India. It was sacked by Timur, the Moghul, in 1398, by Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1739, and by Ahmad Shah Durani, the Afghan, in 1756.

Delhi, however, was at the height of its splendour as the Imperial city of India shortly after the accession of Shah Jahan. The far-famed royal palace at Delhi, which contained the inimitable peacock throne, was ten years in building and was completed about 1643 and the Jama Masjid and other public buildings date from about the same period. From that period to the departure of Aurangzeb in 1680, Delhi was the most magnificent place in the East, the city where was centred the fabulous wealth of Hindustan and where were gathered the poets and writers, statesmen and philosophers, warriors and divines, wits and musicians, whose names are yet household words in Upper India. Bernier has given us a lively description of the scene he witnessed in the great hall of audience at Delhi in July, 1663, and Tavernier has given us an equally fine description of the progress of the Moghul Emperor from the palace to the Jama Masjid on Fridays, in a solemn procession when the barbaric pearl and gold of Ind were extravagantly exhibited in the royal paraphernalia or the magnificent robes of the attendant nobility. The splendours of the

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Chandni Chauk—then as now the main thoroughfare of Delhi—were also at their zenith during this period. As is well-known, Aurengzeb died before he could complete his conquest of the Deccan and was buried at the place of his temporary sojourn, far away from his capital city.

Although several of the Moghul generals had thrown off the yoke of allegiance and become practically independent, the divinity that hedged round the person of the Sovereign remained intact for many years and Delhi enjoyed comparative peace and security till 1739 A. D., when Nadir Shah entered the city and the palace as its conqueror and became the master of the accumulated wealth of centuries, which he carried to his native country. On the 10th March 1739, the small Persian garrison which Nadir Shah had introduced into the city, when he occupied it, was almost entirely put to the sword by the people. On the 11th, he gave his troops, who had been summoned from the encampment outside the city, orders for a general massacre. From sunrise till 12 o'clock, Delhi presented a scene of appalling carnage, the horrors of which were increased by the flames ignited in almost every quarter of the capital. The Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah, then interceded for the people, and Nadir Shah replied: "The Emperor of India must never ask in vain," and commanded the massacre should cease. A vast multitude of persons had, however, perished, and Nadir Shah carried with him from Delhi treasures, estimated at from 30 to 70 millions sterling, the famous peacock throne, and the Koh-i-noor diamond. Nadir's invasion was followed by that of Ahmad Shah Durani, in in 1756, who defeated the Mahrattas. In 1759 the Mahratta chief, Madhoji Sindhia, captured Delhi and the Mahrattas held it till September 1803, when General Lake defeated Louis Bourquin, commanding Sindhia's army and gained possession of Delhi and of the family and the person of the Emperor Shah Alam. In October, 1804, Delhi was beseiged by the Mahratta, Jaswant Rao Holkar, but was successfully defended by the British under Generals Burn and Ochterlony. From that time to 1857, the old capital of India remained in the possession of the British, although the descendants of the Moghul were allowed some show of royalty, and the title of King. The last king, Bahadur Shah, succeeded in 1837, and was about eighty years old when the Mutiny broke out. With his death at Rangoon in 1862, the last vestige of the Moghul dynasty disappeared. Till 1857 Delhi and the surrounding districts were under the administration of the then North-West Provinces, but in 1858 they were placed under the Punjab Government.

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From the death of Mohamed Shah, in 1748, the history of Delhi ceased to be the history of India, and in a few years it sank to the level of an ordinary provincial town. It has, however, been truly remarked that the glamour of the great cities which bore the name of Delhi during many centuries, whose ruins now lie on all sides of the modern city, adheres to it still and continues to captivate the imagination of the cultured and the uncultured alike. The sepoy mutiny had Delhi as its centre and rallying point during the eventful months between May and September, 1857, when on its suppression the representative of the dynasty of Timur and Babor left Delhi for good as an exile to Rangoon. Delhi had then sunk to the level of an ordinary moffasil town and its streets and palaces, once the scene of great and solemn ceremonials, had been allotted to the common concerns and every-day avocations of ordinary Indian life. Its splendid past caused it to be selected, however, as the scene of the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 and of the Coronation Darbar of 1903, at the first of which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and at the latter of which was solemnized the accession of Edward VII to the throne of his ancestors. And it was but right and proper that a city of such great historic traditions and associations should have been chosen as the site of the greatest Darbar held under British rule in this country—that on which the first British Emperor announced, in person, his accession to the throne of the great Empire on which the sun never sets and of which India, in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, has come to form a component and integral portion, and at which he further announced the transfer of the capital itself from Calcutta to Delhi, the revocation of Lord Curzon's ill-starred scheme of the partition of Bengal and the constitution of the Royal province of Behar and Orissa. Henceforth Delhi will again occupy its position as of old as the natural metropolis of the Indian Empire. Those desirous of studying in detail the ups and downs of Delhi and the viccisitudes of its fortunes will find enough to interest them in the popular sketch of its history, very opportunely issued, under the title of *When Kings Rode to Delhi*, one of the books in the foot-note on the opening page of this article. This useful and entertaining work, which is written with insight and feeling, brings out the charm and romance of Indian history and presents inspiring sketches of the great characters, who have played a conspicuous part. Miss Festing's accurate and pleasant sketchs of one of the most interesting periods of Indian history, is as emiently readable as a well-written novel.

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THE OPEN FORUM:

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

Science and Indian Nationalism.

(By "An Indian").

"Scientific methods of the most uncompromising kind must be used in the investigation of every problem that presents itself. This can only be done by the cultivation by India's most acutely intelligent men of the intensest scepticism towards their *deepest convictions* and most cherished traditions. To achieve this it is necessary to get rid of the intellectual conceit which at present paralyses the best minds in the country."

IN these trenchant words Captain Owen A.R. Berkley Hill, I.M.S., sums up his article on "Science and Indian Nationalism" in the Behar Congress number of the *Hindustan Review*, December, 1912. With much of what the Captain says, one can find oneself in complete agreement, but in his zeal for effecting a radical cure of the disease which is in the blood of the Hindus, he gives expression to sentiments and ideas which cannot by allowed to go unchallenged. "Mental seclusion" and "intellectual conceit" are certainly to be avoided if Indians wish to progress. It is the particular manifestation of these that is animadverted upon. We are not aware of the facts on which the Captain bases his sweeping conclusion that "this mental seclusion has led to the formation and retention of that astonishing superstition...that all Europeans are by nature and the will of God stupid." The truth lies the other way about.

It is recognised by all right thinking Indians that Europeans are ahead of Hindus in the qualities which conduce to the making of great administrators and the best of citizens. Hindus are not blind and brainless to consider Europeans, who are ruling the world, as stupid. In giving expression to this opinion the Captain loses sight of the admiration of Hindus for Europeans for their many-sided and marvellous achievements in the realms of science and in the arts of war. The opinion, however, may have some bearing on the question of ideals which are kept in view by Indians and Europeans. The Captain seems to think that the texture of the Hindu mind should be entirely changed, that it should be made *tabula rasa* in order that the lessons of Western science may be fully grasped. It is well nigh an impossibility which is asked to be attempted. The genius of a race or a nation cannot certainly be so transformed. But the view-point

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can be changed. It will not involve any intellectual hypocrisy to adopt whole-heartedly the methods of Western Science in the solution of the worldly problems and at the same time to minister to the spiritual needs of the country.

The point, however, to be emphasised upon is that the desire for spiritual regeneration should not be allowed to obsess the minds to the detriment of the material progress and enlightenment. In fact if the well-ordered progression of Hindu enfoldment by means of Ashrams had been kept in view, no such question as the one which the Captain has discussed would have arisen.

The general idea of the impermanence or transitoriness of the physical world was never devised with a view to paralyse all effort, the doctrine of Karma and the attainment of salvation by its means give a lie direct to any such idea dominating the Hindu mind. The episode of Gita is a sublime vindication of a Hindu doing his assigned duty and bettering his worldly prospects by fair means. Fatalism, or for the matter of that, "seeing the hand of God" in every detail has never stood in the way of Hindus. It is no part of there creed. The falsity of the idea is patent to even a casual observer.

The allegation that our graduates who have matriculated are always dominated by these two ideas, the impermanence of the world and fatalism, is utterly unfounded. Metaphysical subtleties have their value. The Hindus do not discard them. They do not say "Physics beware of Metaphysics." Still they are not the only pabulum upon which the Hindu mind feeds.

There is a good deal of force in the opinion of the Captain that a system of moral, religious and intellectual independence cannot be forced into existence, and that the essentials of the system have to be brought into existence. But the question is whether Hindu policy is entirely antagonistic to these essentials. I believe it is hardly fair to answer the question in the affirmative on the basis of ideas which float in the air and which cannot be looked upon as the very essence of Hinduism, as illustrative of the system of religious thought or social organism.

The oft-quoted lines of Mathew Arnold do not express the whole truth. The condition depicted therein lays too much emphasis on the contemplativeness of the Hindu mind. It may be the dominant note of Hindu religious thought; yet it has never been allowed to affect social well-being and political advancement. The acceptance of western ideas in all their entirety is out of the question. If the Hindu

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have to progress the genius of the race will not fail them in devising means consistent with past traditions and convictions for the attainment of political and social salvation. The growth of nationalism will take the form of evolution and not of revolution. Our salvation does not consist in the wholesale rejection of ideals which have stood the test of time.

The Hindus welcome Western iconoclasm but they are not prepared to forego their vantage point. Scientific methods may be uncompromising, but they do not necessarily involve a rejection of the best that is in Hinduism. What is best and most useful can quite consistently be adopted by even the contemplative Hindu. Utility is not a monoply of materialistic West. The Captain has indulged rather freely in taunts at Hindu thought. But they can well be forgiven as the advice of the Captain is manifestly honest and well-meant.

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

Two months ago we read an atticle in the *Hindustan Review* entitled "Christianity in India," by the late Rao Bahadur V. G. Kirta Kar, and we were so much impressed by this that we have kept it by us. It gives the Indian view of the conversion of India to Christianity. And it also treats, purely from the Indian point of view, of Christian Missions and Christian Missionaries, and their work in this country. To anybody interested in this subject we recommend the perusal of this article.—The *Empress*.

The Hindustan Review.

The December issue of the *Hindustan Review* is a special number devoted to the Behar Congress. There are nine articles—all of considerable interest. The late Sister Nivedita's account of the National Congress as expressing the political side of a great national movement has the place of honour. Mr. G. Subramani Iyer has written on the Britishers and Indians in our Public Services. He shows the objectional nature of Lord Curzon's two-fold policy of reserving the higher employments to Europeans and in the lower to employ the Indians as far as possible. Mr. Iyer condemns the creation of a ruling caste in India and says it will imperil the country. "Science and Indian Nationalism" is one of those well intentioned pessimistic views of Indian nationalism which are generally held by European friends. They cannot see how the Gita reading and Ramayana worshipping nation of meditators and devotees can build up a State on the gun and bullet basis—called science. The writer says India must get rid of the "intellectual concert which at present paralyses

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the best minds of the country." "The Future of China," "Political Science in Ancient India," "The India of National University," "Private Character and Public Life," "Home Rule for Ireland" and Character Sketch of Woodrow Wilson—are the other articles, the perusal of which would be profitable. The editorials are deeply patriotic and refer to the "Royal Province" of Behar and Orissa—its importance in Indian nationalism and its historic merits. It is a province which the Hindu and Mahomedan minds unite and its message to all India is of the same nature. The ancient and modern Capitals of Behar occupy a prominent part of the *Review*, no less than nine articles dwelling on the subject. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, the President elect of the 27th National Congress, forms the subject of a life sketch headed "In the Public Eye." The *Review* also contains the message of the late Mr. Hume to the Congress. On the whole the December number is a bright and bulky one, suggestive of many historic and patriotic sentiments and we wish to congratulate the editor, the Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, on the production.—The *Punjabee*.

The *Hindustan Review* for December is entitled. 'The Bihar Congress Number'. It opens with an article on the Congress from the pen of the late Sister Nivedita and contains interesting articles on Bihar and the Congress.—*The Leader*.

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THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—"*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*," (William, Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*.)

MOTTO II—"Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange" (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

THE ALL-INDIA KAYASTHA CONFERENCE.

THE All-India Kayastha Conference which was held in Calcutta at the end of last month, under the presidentship of Munshi Baldeo Prasad Sahib of Bareilly was—to judge from the reports of its proceedings—a great and notable success. Now that the old Kayastha Conference is practically dead, we are glad that there has arisen phœnix—like from its ashes the new movement which is far more catholic and comprehensive than the old one. The next meeting is to be in our own city, sometime this year. We may revert to the subject in a later issue.

The late Rai Sohan Lal.

We are deeply grieved to learn the death of Rai Sohan Lal Sahib, which occurred at Dehra Dun, at the ripe age of 78. The deceased gentleman was a distinguished scholar of English and Hindustani and was for many years in Behar as Government translator of the Hindi Gazette. He also helped materially the late Dr. Fallon in the preparation of his well-known dictionaries. He leaves two sons, Munshi Bhawani Prasad, a Deputy Collector in Behar and Munshi Durga Prasad, vakil, of Dehra Dun, and his daughter, Mrs. Jyoti Swarup. We offer them our condolence. The Rai Sahib was a typical scholar—full of piety and love and he has left behind a large circle of admirers to mourn his loss.

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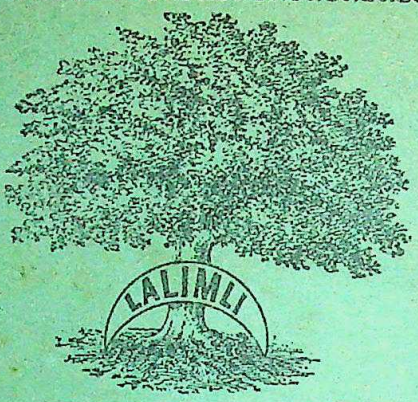

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THE POSITION OF HINDUS IN INDIA *—I.

By Sir KRISHNA G. GUPTA, K.C.S.I.

THE position of Hindus in India cannot be understood without some reference to the long past. India, as you all know, is surrounded on three sides by the ocean which for many centuries served practically as an impassable barrier, and on the remaining side it has mountain ranges of great extent and altitude over which access was only possible through a few intricate passes, the difficulty of transit being further enhanced on the North-West Frontier by the presence of arid deserts. Thus cut off, India's intercourse with the outer world was for many centuries spasmodic and intermittent and marked by long intervals. In the earliest times, when navigation was extremely primitive, there was no immigration across the sea; but in spite of the almost impenetrable character of its land barriers, India from time to time attracted enormous hordes specially through the north-west border.

* An address delivered at the University of Cambridge Local Lectures Summer Meeting, 1912.

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It is not possible to trace with any accuracy the autochthonous or original settlers of the land, but it is believed that they must have been the progenitors of the various savage tribes, Bhils, Sonthals, &c., who now inhabit the low hills and fastnesses in many parts of the country, and who have all along resisted all civilizing influences. It may be assumed that at one time they occupied fertile plains and valleys and were gradually driven to their present locations by superior force.

The earliest immigrants from the west were the Aryans, or as they are variously called Caucasians and Indo-Europeans, one branch of which proceeded from a common centre to Europe, and another branch colonized south-western Asia, including Persia and India. There have been other immigrations of great extent and importance since, but the influence of the Aryan immigration has been the most durable and the most far-reaching. One cannot say when this stream of immigration commenced to flow into India, but it must have gone on for some time. Punjab was the first home of the Aryans—was regarded as their sacred land. They gradually penetrated to the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, and it is quite certain that by 2,000 years B.C., and probably many centuries earlier, the Aryans had occupied the fertile plains of northern India.

In the course of the next 1,000 years or so the Aryans spread to Oudh and Behar, and finally to Bengal, and it was also during this period that Aryan stragglers found their way to Central India and eventually to the south; and before long the whole country came under the dominant influence of the great Aryan race.

The earliest account of India is made up of legends and traditions. Of this period there are few authentic data. The fact is that Hindus possess no history in the ordinary acceptation of the term. On the other hand, there is no lack of religious, traditional, philosophic, and literary works from which one can form a fairly clear estimate of the spiritual developments of the people and of their manners, customs, and social and political organization. In this respect the Vedas occupy the foremost place. The picture they unfold takes us back to the earliest times when the Aryans came as conquerors and gradually wrested the land from their savage foes. They worshipped the elements—such as fire, wind, sun, dawn, &c. The period was one of wars and conquests against the aborigines, and in the Vedic hymns the Aryans make triumphant references to their successes and implore their gods to make short work of the barbarians.

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With the political growth and expansion of the Aryans, their religious beliefs and practices also underwent marked changes. The Vedic period was followed by the second epoch, in which there was an immense development of forms and rituals on the one hand, and on the other attempts were made—sometimes successfully—to peer through the elemental deities and to grasp the idea of a Supreme Being who was above the elements and whose spirit pervaded the creation. The Upanishads, which were composed during this period, when divested of their pantheistic garb, went as near as possible to the conception of a supreme Providence—one without a second—all powerful, all-merciful, and absolutely pure and benevolent. It should be remembered that the Upanishads came into being more than 1,000 years B.C. The third period witnessed the substitution of the simple faith of the Vedas, and of the more sublime conceptions of the Upanishads by an elaborate and complex system of ritual and sacrifice on the one hand, and the growth of a critical and philosophic spirit as a protest against ceremonious observances on the other. The most notable event of this period is the birth, in the sixth century before Christ, of Sakya Muni or Gautama Buddha, whose religion of love and benevolence became in the next or fourth period, commencing with the reign of the great Asoka, in the third century before Christ, the dominant faith not only of India, but of the greater portion of South-Eastern Asia.

Up to this time, that is, for some 2,000 years, the religion of the Aryans was free from idolatry or image worship, and temples, shrines, and places of pilgrimage were practically unknown. Although Buddhism was a protest against class distinctions and sacerdotal supremacy, yet it may be said to be directly responsible for the introduction of images for the purpose of worship, and from the fact that there are no pre-Buddhistic temples to be met with in any part of India it may be inferred that Buddhism greatly fostered, if it did not introduce, the erection of temples for enshrining images, a practice which must have received a considerable impetus from the close contact into which the people of India were about this time brought with the Greeks through the conquests of Alexander the Great and the intimate intercourse maintained with his successors by the princes of India.

In course of time, Buddhism lost much of its pristine purity and simplicity, and received superstitious and idolatrous accretions—so much so that to this latter-day Buddhism may be traced the growth of *Tantric* worship, which is the worst and the most revolting

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form of the latest phase of Hinduism. The fifth and last epoch, which may be said to commence about 500 A. D., is marked by the steady decline of Buddhism, and the revival of Hinduism in a form in which image worship was the main feature. Priestly imagination ran riot, and the Hindu pantheon was filled with innumerable gods and goddesses, even trees, rocks, hills, and rivers being requisitioned for the purpose, and it is more than probable that it was during this period that a great stimulus was given to the reception of aboriginal tribes within the fold of Hinduism, their rude and uncouth deities being assigned places, though subordinate ones, in the mythology of their more powerful neighbours. It is interesting to note that notwithstanding the low social status assigned to these tribes in the Hindu social body, they have always shown much eagerness to be admitted into it, although such admission meant the discarding of some of their best customs, such as adult marriage, absence of caste restrictions, &c.

Buddhism marks the dividing line between ancient and modern Hinduism. The orthodox Hinduism of the present day is, therefore, not the Hinduism of the pre-Buddhistic period, but the debased form which rose on the ashes of Buddhism, and which adopted and amplified its system of image worship, and magnified the importance of shrines and pilgrimages. It seeks inspiration, not from the Vedas, with their simple nature worship, nor from the Upanishads, with their lofty spiritual ideals, but from the more recent Puranas, with extravagant legendary tales, and from the more dubious works known as the *Tantras*.

The above brief retrospect of the growth of modern Hinduism enables one to realise how it has come to be so comprehensive and shown such capacity for absorption. Octopus-like, Hinduism has swallowed up and assimilated the various cults and faiths that have from time to time appeared on the soil of India. The religion of Gautama Buddha differed in all its essentials from the Aryan faiths which preceded it, and which it very nearly supplanted, and yet at the end of a thousand years Buddhism had disappeared completely from the land of its birth, and Buddha had become one of the many Hindu incarnations, so much so that a knowledge of that wonderful movement was revived in India in recent times only by the studies and researches of Western scholars. The savage hosts of Sakas, Scythians, Huns and others, who from time to time burst upon the Indian continent with irresistible force, achieved but transient triumph, for no sooner were they settled in the country than they bowed to the superior Aryan civilisation, and were content to be received in

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the Hindu fold, and became part and parcel of the Hindu social organisation. Even the Greek settlers in the Punjab formed no exception to this general rule.

In the domain of logic, theology, and philosophy Hindu writers occupy an unique position, and excel in all schools of thought, their magnificent works being the admiration of the learned of all nations. It will thus be understood how Hinduism contains tenets, beliefs, and practices one or other of which will satisfy all spiritual needs—from the loftiest form of pure monotheism—through various stages of pantheism, nature worship, atheism, philosophic scepticism—down to the grossest and most debased forms of idolatry.

Hinduism, which is tolerant almost to excess, has seldom exhibited any missionary zeal ; it has, by a rigid system of caste distinctions and other restrictive methods, discouraged every form of direct conversion, and while it is constantly liable to loss of adherents by the proselytising activities of more aggressive faiths it cannot freely admit within its ranks converts from other religions. In these circumstances the reason why the number of Hindus does not show any decline in the aggregate is that Hinduism has from time to time received large accessions from animistic races.

It would be a difficult task indeed to state clearly what the orthodox Hinduism of the present day is. A few facts can, however, be predicated of it. It is mainly and substantially idolatrous, and image worship, in which anthropomorphism plays an important part, is its principal feature. It has many cults, many sects, each having its special gods and goddesses, but all combine to venerate the entire Hindu pantheon. It is non-congregational, that is to say, in Hindu temples there is no joint worship in the sense that there is service in a Christian church or Moslem mosque. The actual worship in the temples is performed daily at stated hours by the priests—often with closed doors, accompanied by offerings of fruits, flowers, and cooked food. The votaries go in singly or in batches, simply to do obeisance to the idols and afterwards partake of the holy food. At home the orthodox Hindu, after his morning bath and before he has broken his fast, daily worships his special deity, usually symbolised in a simple form, such as the *lingam* of the Sivas, or the small round stone of the Vaishnavas, the worship consisting of the offer of flowers and incense, and the recitation of certain formulae in Sanskrit.

Like that of most ancient peoples the social organisation of the Aryans was based on the patriarchal system, and the head of the

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family was always looked up to and regarded with respect and reverence. Veneration for the living led up to the worship of the dead, and ancestor worship has been a prominent trait of Hinduism from the earliest times. Not only are elaborate funeral ceremonies performed at death and a few days afterwards but obsequies, in which libations to the manes form the chief feature, continue to be regularly performed for several generations, and also on every festive occasion as birth, marriage, &c. No one is so well qualified to perform this duty as a male descendant, and it thus became a primary necessity with a Hindu father to have a son. This obligation was considered so paramount that, failing legitimate issue, various devices were adopted to supply the deficiency. In Manu no less than twelve kinds of sons are mentioned, but at the present time only two of them are recognised, *viz.* (1) legitimately begotten, and (2) adopted. When adoption is decided on there is a formal transfer on the one side and formal acceptance on the other, accompanied by a solemn ritual, in which, in the presence of assembled relations and friends, the adopted son is made to lose his own patronymic and assume that of his adoptive parent. Henceforth he ceases to belong to the family of his natural father and is completely grafted on to that of his adoption. The duty of making offerings to the manes was considered of such importance that the law of inheritance was based on the capacity for undertaking this function; and whether a person can succeed to another's estate as his heir depends in a chief measure on his eligibility to perform the funeral rites.

As a corollary of the patriarchal system, joint families have prevailed in Hindu households from the earliest times, and are still to be largely met with in spite of the action of modern disintegrating influences. The system has its defects as also its merits. It certainly cramps and retards individual growth and development, and impairs the sense of personal responsibility and self-reliance. On the other hand, it teaches altruism and other virtues, and fosters love and affection for one's relations. So long as there is a single breadwinner in the family all the members are cared for, while provision is made for all those, such as widows and orphans, who are unable to earn a living; and anyone who out of selfishness fails to discharge this duty is strongly reprobated by his neighbours. It is thus that poor laws and workhouses are unknown in India. It is no uncommon spectacle to see a man toiling and striving to support kinsmen who in this country would have no claim on him.

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A bright feature of Hinduism is the welcome extended to guests —not merely those who have been bidden to the house, but absolute strangers who may happen to seek food and shelter. Until quite recently hotels and hostelries were unknown in India, and even now they are found only in the larger centres of population. Resthouses and *serais* were to be met with occasionally, but only along the main roads. In most places there was no accommodation for travellers, who had, therefore, to rely upon the hospitality of the people of the localities through which they had to pass, and they did not rely in vain, for in every village of importance there were one or two well-to-do people who kept open houses, where wayfarers of every description found food and shelter free at all hours of the day and night. There are many pious Hindus, both men and women, who would not break their own fasts until they have entertained some stray arrivals, for they believe in the Hindu aphorism, "A guest embodies all the divinities."

The one special characteristic which distinguishes Hinduism from all other religions is its caste system. Class distinctions are familiar to all communities. Every society is divided into sections, the members of which group themselves according to certain common ties and interests based mainly on birth, culture, and wealth. But there is no insurmountable barrier between the classes, which are constantly liable to loss and gain, and there certainly is no restriction as to food and drink. Caste, as understood by the Hindus, is, however, of a very different kind. It is based solely on birth, and a Brahman, however poor, however ignorant, will rank higher than one of a lower caste who may be his superior in wealth and education. Then, again, in no other community are there any restrictions of food and drink, but a Hindu belonging to a higher caste may not touch food prepared by one of a lower caste. A Brahman is, therefore, always sought after for service as cook, for all other castes will eat food prepared by him, and this goes on with every descending grade. There are also restrictions, regarding drink, but they are not so severe as in the case of cooked food. The various castes and sub-castes are endogamous, and no one may marry out of his caste, though within the caste a certain amount of exogamy is maintained by prohibiting marriage alliances between families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor. The castes thus form, as it were, so many water-tight compartments without any communicating doors.

In all civilised communities certain distinctions are observed for social purposes, but they are not rigid or stereotyped, and they

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can be, and are often, got over. No embargo is placed on food or drink, nor is there any prohibition of intermarriage. But nowhere else in the world can anything be found at all resembling the Hindu caste system. Yet it was not always so rigid or exclusive. It is beyond doubt that the Aryan immigrants who crossed the Indus and occupied the Punjab were not divided into separate castes. They formed one solid community, held together by the strongest tie of common interest, and actuated by the common desire to triumph over the aboriginal tribes that opposed their progress and settlement. In those pre-historic times the patriarch of each family offered libations to the elements, accompanied by hymns, very often of his own composition, at the sacred fire which was kindled and maintained in every house. He also fought battles against the common enemy and in times of peace tended his flocks and cultivated his lands.

In course of time the Aryans grew and prospered, and spread out in different directions. The simple libations to the gods were replaced by elaborate ritual and sacrifice, and it became necessary for certain families to undertake the sole direction of all religious observances, and they thus formed the nucleus of a priestly class, which, by a slow process of evolution, hardened into the highest or Brahmanical caste. In the same way, the duty of fighting and governing came to be monopolised by others, noted for their capacity and bodily vigour, and these gradually crystallized into the *Kshatriya*, or military caste; and last of all, the great body of the people, the real workers—scribes, artisans, mechanics, and husbandmen—formed into the third class, the *vysyas*. Outside the Aryan circle were the despised aborigines, whom the new comers vanquished, and reduced to a state of serfdom, and they were the *Sudras*, whose main occupation was domestic service. The three highest castes were *dwija*, or twice-born, their initiation at an early age into the Aryan fold by a solemn ceremony, when they first took the sacred thread, being regarded as their second birth. For many centuries they enjoyed certain privileges in common, and marriage was permitted, not only among persons of the same caste, men of a higher caste took brides from any of the lower castes; and the restrictions regarding food and drink were far less strict.

The Aryans, like their modern representatives in Europe, were proud of their fair skin; and it is interesting to note that the Sanskrit word for caste is *varna*, which literally means colour, signifying that originally there were only two castes, *viz.*, the white Aryans, and the aboriginal tribes of darker hue—a distinction

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which has manifested itself in another form at the present day, so truly does history repeat itself, and a just nemesis overtake all arrogance.

The phase of Aryan society, with its threefold division into priests, soldiers, and workers, may not inaptly be compared with what existed in mediæval Europe, where there were at the top the powerful body of priests and monks—the recognised exponents of religion and learning, next to them the barons and feudal lords, whose sole occupation was that of arms, and last of all, the great body of workers, who were looked down upon by the other two classes. But in Europe, the class distinctions never got stereotyped into the rigidity of Aryan castes in India. The vow of celibacy which, in Europe, the priest had to take, made the formation of a hereditary sacerdotal caste impossible, and the military also continued to be recruited from the more daring and ambitious among the civil population

In India, the simplicity of the old caste system which at the beginning recognised only three Aryan classes and one non-Aryan, gradually disappeared, giving place to a more complex and elaborate social organisation in which the various guilds and professions were constituted into distinct castes, separated by many restrictions as regards marriage, food, and drink, and all exclusive and self-contained. The process was facilitated by the peculiar position of the Aryans in India. The country was surrounded by all but impassable barriers, which prevented active intercourse with the world outside, and within the conquerors formed a select body jealous of their race and descent, and yet not quite successful in preventing the admixture of non-Aryan blood. There are many theories as to the origin of caste in India, but the one put forth here does not appear to be unreasonable, *viz*, that caste was the outcome of two factors, occupation and birth. While among the pure blooded Aryans caste was almost entirely the product of varying occupations, many of the lower castes represent aboriginal tribes received into the Aryan community, and profession does not necessarily constitute a factor in their formation.

As has already been remarked, popular Hinduism does not recognise converts, and no one can be a Hindu who has not been born such. But it is not necessary to subscribe to any particular form of faith or belief; all that is necessary in order that one may remain in the Hindu social pale is not to marry outside one's caste or sub-caste—a condition which admits of no exception. Certain rules regarding food and drink must also be observed, though they are now frequently broken, especially in the large cities, without

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involving any serious penalty. It is likewise incumbent to have certain forms of ritual performed by priests on the occasion of birth, marriage, and death, and in the case of the highest castes, also on the occasion of assuming the sacred thread.

There exists a good deal of misconception regarding the position of women in India. It is asserted that they are immured within the walls of the *zenana*, where they spend their time in idleness and inanity. No picture could be further from the truth. The seclusion of women is foreign to Hindu traditions, and no trace of it can be found in early Sanskrit literature; on the contrary, there are numerous instances proving the absence of any such practice. The custom was no doubt introduced by the Mohammedans and spread during periods of anarchy and unsettled government; it was always confined to the higher classes. As regards the masses constituting the bulk of the population, the women in most parts of India are as free as in Europe. Even among the better classes the *zenana* system is lax with the Hindus in Madras and Bombay; but whether their movements are restricted or not, the Hindu ladies exercise an influence in family affairs which is far greater than is known here. The oldest lady in the family is looked up to with respect and veneration by all the members, both male and female, and nothing of any importance is done without consulting her, or obtaining her consent. If she happens to be a woman of strong character, as she not infrequently is, she exercises undisputed sway within her little world; and such cases are within the knowledge of every Hindu. The ladies also lead active and useful lives. They usually do all the cooking, and are most industrious in the management of their household affairs. They are devoted to children, but want of education stands in the way of their making full use of their opportunities, especially of looking after the upbringing of the little ones and exercising that healthy home influence over them which is such a bright feature in the best English families.

The total population of India according to the last census is 313½ millions. The figures according to religion are roughly as follows:—

	Millions.
Hindu, including Brahmanic, Arya, Brahmo, Sikh, and Jain	222
Musalman	66½
Buddhist	10¾
Christian	3¾
Animistic, &c.	10½
	313½

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Speaking broadly, more than two-thirds, or 70·7 per cent. are Hindus, a little over one-fifth or 21·3 per cent. are Musalmans, and the remaining 8 per cent. are made up of Buddhists, Animists, Christians, &c. The two main elements of the population are thus Hindu and Musalman. The largest number of Musalmans is found in the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Eastern Bengal, where they exceed, or are equal to, Hindus. In the rest of India, especially in Madras, Bombay, Central India, and the United Provinces, the Hindus vastly outnumber the Musalmans. The figures speak for themselves. They show conclusively the unique position occupied by the Hindus in India. Ethnologically a comparatively small percentage of Hindus have been able to maintain the purity of their Aryan blood, for during the long centuries, in spite of rigorous caste restrictions, the inevitable has happened, and not only has much admixture taken place with the early aboriginal races, but from time to time many successive hordes of immigrants have been absorbed in the great body of Hindus, and it speaks much for the intellectual and moral greatness of the Aryan civilisation that it has all along been able to maintain its superiority and to stamp its impress upon sterner but less cultured races. The Hindus of India are thus as much a mixed race as any of the nations of Europe, with this difference—that for some centuries the former have received very little infusion of new blood, and the various castes and communities forming the Hindu population have become more and more exclusive and crystallized. It is estimated that 90 per cent of the population of India live by agriculture. The masses of Hindus and Musalmans are tillers of the soil, and most of them are illiterate.

Education has not made any progress at all only among the higher classes. From the earliest times the higher castes, especially the Brahmans, have been devoted to learning. For a full comprehension of modern India a knowledge of Sanskrit literature is indispensable as it furnishes the key to the civilisation of the Hindus. While ranking very high among the literatures of ancient peoples in aesthetic merit, it is superior to all as a source for the study of human evolution. It was the discovery of the Sanskrit language which gave rise to the science of comparative philology, while acquaintance with the Vedas resulted in the science of comparative religion. One of the two departments in which the main strength of Sanskrit literature lies is religion. This in part explains how the Indians are the only division of the Indo-European family which has not

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only created a great national religion —Brahmanism—but also a great world-religion. Buddhism. In philosophy, too, the Indian mind has produced independently several systems which bear evidence of high powers of speculation.

Sanskrit literature is also rich in drama and poetry of all kinds, while its grammar is one of the most scientific in the world. In mathematical sciences the achievements of the Hindus have been very considerable. As the inventors of numerical figures with which the whole world reckons, and of the decimal system based on those figures they naturally became the greatest calculators of antiquity, just as the Greeks were the greatest geometricians. They made very great advance in arithmetic and algebra and were well acquainted with trigonometry and astronomy.

The lamp of knowledge has been kept burning in India by a limited number of the aristocracy of intellect, and there always have been seats of learning in various parts of India where young men have been instructed in what is esteemed as best in Sanskrit literature. Education, however, was confined to a small proportion of Brahmans and people of other superior castes, while the great bulk of the population was steeped in ignorance. But the advent of the English has made a marked change in this respect. Education instead of being the monopoly of a highly privileged class is now open to all.

Not only in numbers but in education also the Hindus take the lead, the percentage of literates among them being 5·6 against 3·8 among Musalmans. The difference of percentage of literates in English is even more marked, for it is ·5 among Hindus and only ·22 among Musalmans. The Hindus were the first to take advantage of English education, and as it was natural under the circumstances English education first took root in Bengal where British supremacy was first established. The missionaries were the first to introduce the teaching of English, and as during the early years of British occupation they received much opposition from the officials of the East India Company, they sought and found a hospitable asylum at the Danish Settlement of Serampur—fourteen miles north of Calcutta, where the first English seminary was founded by three well-known Baptist Missionaries, Carey, Ward, and Marshman, who devoted their lives to the spread of education in Bengal, started the first printing press and published the first newspaper towards the close of the eighteenth century. The ban against missionaries

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was shortly after removed and Dr. Duff of the Scotch Free Church opened a school in Calcutta which was joined by the young men of some of the highest Hindu families. His personal influence was so great and he was so loved and respected by all his pupils that it is said of him, and I think with perfect truth, that he made more converts of high caste Hindus than all the other missionaries put together; and the tide of evangelisation set by him was only checked by the growth of Brahmoism under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. I have not the time to proceed further and trace the history of English education, how it was eventually recognised by the East India Company as one of their fundamental obligations, how the controversy between English education and Oriental learning was, through Macaulay's instrumentality, settled in favour of the former and it spread all over India. But I wish to emphasise the fact that not only in Bengal but elsewhere in India, it is the Hindus who have largely availed themselves of English education. It is true that in recent years the Musalmans have begun to realise the importance of English education and their College at Aligarh is now one of the finest educational institutions in India, but they have much leeway to make up. As a result of their superior education the Hindus naturally take a very large share in the government and administration of the country exercise a preponderating influence in the Legislative Councils as well as in the local and municipal boards and more or less monopolise the Bar and the various learned professions such as education, medicine, and engineering.

In trade and commerce educated Indians, whether Hindus or Musalmans, have not distinguished themselves much and are far behind the small but influential Parsee community, but even in this respect Hindus have more than held their own, for the entire trade in rural areas is in their hands. The much abused *Bania*, who is the village banker or retail trader, is invariably a Hindu, and in the larger centres of population the banking and trading business is largely carried on by Hindus. In Bombay and a few other places one or two sects of Musalmans are coming to the front as successful men of business, but roughly speaking, the bulk of the internal trade of India, such as the distribution of food, clothing and the other necessaries of life, and the financing of the vast rural population is everywhere in the hands of Hindus, and it has always been so. The *Marwaris*, who hail from the deserts of Rajputana, are a hardy and frugal people and their enterprise and business aptitude are extraordinary; with little or no claim to education—they carry on business,

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often on a colossal scale—under very primitive methods. Coming from an inclement climate where the extremes of heat and cold are experienced they are as much at home on the cool slopes of the Himalayas as on the hot moist plains of Bengal and Burma; they dominate trade in Upper India and in Calcutta. The sea has no terror for the Marwari and he has crossed over and settled in East Africa, Hong Kong and many other countries.

Amongst the landowning classes also, the Hindus vastly preponderate. In India the State is the proprietor of the land. In most parts of British India the land is directly held by those who cultivate it, but in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, and Oudh, there is an intermediate class of landowners who approach as nearly as possible the landlord class in this country. Many of them own estates of vast extent and are immensely wealthy, and on the whole the landowners as a body are well-to-do and very influential.

Coming to the Native States the majority of Chiefs are Hindus. The ruler of the Premier Native State—Hyderabad—is no doubt a Musalman, but not far behind is the Hindu State of Mysore. Rampur, Bhawalpur, Bhopal, and Junagar, complete the list of important Musalman States, while all the Rajput and Mahratta Chiefs and the rulers of Travancore and Cochin in the south are Hindus, and the semi-independent Hindu State of Nepal has no counterpart among the Musalman States.

Some idea of the importance of the Native States may be formed from the fact that they occupy one-third of the area of the Indian continent and contain 77 millions of the 313½ millions of persons comprising its population. It has been stated that, broadly speaking, the States that were subdued are now included in British India, and the States that submitted are now the Native States of India.

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DAVID LIVINGSTONE. THE AFRICAN EXPLORER: THE CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH.

By Mr. E. WATTS.

IT is not difficult to understand the great hold the name of David Livingstone has always had on the British people, for the romantic nature of the work in which he was engaged is one which has ever appealed to them. Livingstone accomplished a great deal in his capacity as an explorer, but it is questionable whether he would have received a title of the affection and honour now accorded to him had his life and character not been of such high standard. In order that he might prosecute his geographical researches he was prepared to suffer any hardships : that he might strike a blow at the cruel slave trade that was devastating the whole land he gave no thought as to the effect of his actions on his popularity : that he might the more completely fulfil the task he believed God had given him he spared neither health nor wealth. It is interesting to trace the relation of the great explorer to the various spheres of labour in which he was engaged, but it is only by the perusal of his writings that one can gain a true conception of the man and the high-motives which governed his life. Fortunately his diaries are available, and in them we find revealed a character that is a worthy example to follow. There are certain events which have become as familiar as the popular fairy stories, but their interest does not diminish with years. The famous search of Stanley, the devotion of his followers when they brought the dead body of the intrepid explorer to the coast, are historic, and are immediately recalled to the mind when the name of Livingstone is mentioned. There was considerable romance in his life, but this must not cause us to lose sight of the unparalleled difficulties the lonely traveller had to encounter and overcome in his great quest. The price paid was great, but he would be the last to consider that it was too great for the wonderful possibilities that were opened up by his discoveries. To follow in detail his journeys is impossible in an article of this nature, but certain aspects of his work may well be reviewed.

As was the case with many men of Scotch descent who have made history, the lot of Livingstone in his early days was far from being an enviable one. His parents were poor, and his father had a task almost beyond his power to provide for the education of his children from the small salary he received as a traveller for tea. Early, young David was sent to work in the mill, and only those who are acquainted with mill life know how burdensome was the employment in which he found himself engaged. His work commenced at six o'clock in the morning and continued till eight in the evening. As he

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tended his machines he continued to work at his book which was placed before him. In this way he prepared himself for the Glasgow University where he was able to take the winter course on the earnings of the summer in the mill. His thoughts were turned to China, but the opium war made it impossible for him to carry out his wishes, and he was glad when he received an appointment from the London Missionary Society to go to Africa. He had previously qualified in medicine so that he was better equipped for such a task as was before him than many who have gone out to unexplored regions. His primary aim in going to Africa was that he might fulfil his calling as a Christian minister, and during all his varied travels he always kept this end before him. But it is not intended that this article shall deal with this aspect of his work though mention must be made of his efforts on behalf of the slaves, a work closely connected with his missionary labours. He received permission from the Society to turn his steps toward the unexplored North. He saw that if his mission was to be successful he must isolate himself from all European society and live among the natives so that he might the more easily obtain a knowledge of their language and customs. He was afraid of nothing, and declared to one who sought to prevent his going into what were believed dangerous regions, "If we wait till there is no danger we shall never go at all." His first journey was distinguished by his famous adventure with the lion when he was rather severely mauled, and "for thirty years afterwards all his labours and adventures, entailing such exertion and fatigue, were undertaken with a limb so maimed that it was painful for him to raise a fowling piece, or in fact to place his left arm in any position above the level of the shoulder." This first journey introduced him to the horrors of the slave trade, and to the end of his days he never allowed his zeal for their emancipation to lessen, in spite of continued opposition and risk of life. Some of the records of African slavery form the most awful reading in history. He describes the slave dealers as those who united with a higher material civilization a more developed and refined form of cruelty. He denounces their diabolical cunning and callousness which, under the guise of trading, would gain the confidence of a tribe, and then on some fatal night murder the old and enslave the young. This accursed trade roused all his passion, and when a suitable opportunity for presenting the wrongs of the innocent Africans was given him he made the most of it. His second visit to England was almost entirely devoted to the cause of these people, and there is little doubt but that his efforts were the means of creating a strong feeling against the trade among the British people. Political considerations made his task difficult, and he readily gave up his Government post in order that he might be unhampered in his fight against the evil.

With three other Europeans he started on June 1st, 1849 for Lake Ngami which was reached in August. It was a journey which might easily have resulted in the death of all, for the success of it depended almost entirely, humanly speaking, on finding water. The Zembasi was

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later discovered. He found it necessary, before starting again for the interior, to send home his wife and children, promising to join them in two years. But no less than five were to pass ere they saw each other again. The long journey to the coast was one that would have tired the strength and courage of any man, but Livingstone was made of stern stuff, and the greatness of the task only served to call forth the greatness of the man. Through hostile tribes, malarial swamps, waterless deserts he made his way, completing that difficult journey from Linyati to Loanda, 1,400 miles in six months and a half, a feat of wonderful endurance. Labouring under great depression of spirits the traveller reached the coast and handed over his journals to the captain of the British man-of-war who vainly pleaded for Livingstone to accompany them. But the explorer had given his word that he would not forsake his followers but would return with them to their homes. The vessel conveying his journals went down and Livingstone was obliged to rewrite the whole, a toil peculiarly irksome to him. But he did it. One wonders how it was possible for a man handicapped as he was to perform this great journey. He had no one to finance him, and the success of his expedition depended on the goodwill of the tribes. We can only explain it by the unique influence of his character on the natives who never deserted him in time of need, but continually gave him evidence of their confidence and affection. On his return to England he was immediately lionised and a large sum was raised by public subscription for the man who had proved his worth as an explorer. The publication of his book, "Missionary Travels" met with a phenomenal success, the profits of which he later devoted to the purchasing of a small steamer for use on his second expedition. For three years he remained at home, but he was ready to respond when the Government sought his assistance. He accepted the post of Consul at Quilamane and Commander of an expedition to the interior. He was given a small party of helpers to assist him in solving some of the problems connected with the geography of central Africa. But difficulties met him at the very beginning, and he was forced to take the place of the engineer in lieu of the man sent out. Finding the "La Robert" unsuitable for his purposes he asked the Government to send out a lighter one. This did not arrive for two years. In the meanwhile, however, he was working at his task and made several journeys of great interest and value. On the 16th of September he discovered Lake Nyassa, and was overwhelmed with the possibilities of the district round as a place of settlement for the white man. He urged Government to take possession and to open it up. A great domestic calamity overtook him about this time in the death of his wife who had rejoined him. They were dark days and even the stalwart was ready to die from grief. But his work claimed him. Though recalled by Lord Russell he knew that his chief work was still before him. Before returning to England he made that adventurous trip across to Bombay in his small vessel in order that he might get a purchaser for it to enable him to continue his work. After a month

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or two in Bombay he returned to England where he devoted most of his time to the cause of the slaves. He said that he had no heart to pursue purely scientific observations or geographical explorations to gratify the intellectuals while Africa was being desolated and her populations laid waste. In August 1865 he started out for a third time and bade good-bye to the shores he was never to see again. He came *vi* Bombay in order to complete the sale of his little vessel, but the money raised, only a fraction of the original cost, was lost in the bank in which he had placed it.

In Bombay he was assisted by his friend Sir Bartle Frere, the then Governor. He took with him a number of men from the Nask School and some of the sepoys. But the majority of this Indian contingent proved of little value to him, and early in his journey he was obliged to send most of them back. Two of them remained faithful to the last, and they will ever be honoured by virtue of their loyalty, displayed on many occasions, but uniquely in that last long journey when they conveyed his body to the sea. This last was his greatest march, and it is one of the ironies of his life that he died just when he was on the point of solving the great problem on which he had devoted so much time and energy, the source of the great Nile. During these days no news reached the outside world, and reports of his death were circulated. The public were concerned, but it was left to an American newspaper editor to take the first successful step toward finding him. All know the wonderful story of how Stanley, after great privations, reached the spot where Livingstone was resting after a long illness, and how his efforts to persuade Livingstone to give up his quest failed. Livingstone had lost his medicine chest in the early part of this journey and its loss was keenly felt "All the hardship, hunger and toil, were met with the full conviction that I was right in presevering to make a complete work of the exploration of the sources of the Nile. The prospect of death in persuing what I knew to be right did not make me veer to one side or the other." When the proprietor of the *New York Herald* commissioned Stanley to go in search of Livingstone his instructions were brief and to the point. "Spare no expense : spend all the money you want : only find Livingstone." After many escapes and trials Stanley got on the trail and reached the intrepid traveller at Ujiji, almost worn to a skeleton. The presence of Stanley cheered Livingstone, and during the weeks he remained with him his health greatly improved. One part of Stanley's quest was fulfilled, but the second, that he should bring home Livingstone, was doomed to disappointment, for the man had set his heart on the completion of the task he had devoted so many years to. Despite his efforts he was doomed to disappointment, for sickness soon gained a hold on him and he was obliged to halt. The end soon came and Livingstone was found one day dead, kneeling in the attitude of prayer beside his rough bed. The entries in his journal are made with a very shaky hand, and are most pathetic. Honoured in life by the natives they paid

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him the highest tribute in death. The story of their devotion in carrying his body to the coast has often been told. His heart was placed in a tin box and buried four feet in the ground, the Burial Service being read by the faithful Jacob Wainwright. The body was dried in the sun and packed as a bundle of goods so as to avoid trouble on the way. The bearers handed over the body to the British Consul, having paid their last tribute to a man whom they reverenced almost as a god. It is not far to seek the secret of the influence of this man. His diaries abound with instances of their affection and friendship. On one occasion he writes, "no jugglery or sleight-of-hand would have any effect on the civilization of Africans: they have too much good sense for that. Nothing brings them to place thorough confidence in Europeans but a long course of well-doing... Goodness and unselfishness impress their minds more than any kind of skill or power." In all his dealings with the natives Livingstone was the acme of honesty and they learned to place implicit trust in him. How far that attitude was justified the story of his life clearly sets forth. His attitude toward the slave traders showed him to be the friend of the down trodden, and in the long course of his life in the wilds of these before-unexplored districts, he proved himself the deadliest enemy of the nefarious traffic.

He did not seek any self glory, for of him it has rightly been said, "He was the least vain and most unspoiled of any man who was lionised by the British public: the secret of which was undoubtedly to be found in the humility and sincerity of his Christian faith and character." Stanley said that in him religion exhibited its loveliest features, and governed his conduct toward his servants, the natives and all who came in contact with him. His task was a great one, but he carried it out in the spirit of a true man, and he has laid the world under obligation as much by the beautiful example he has set as by the magnitude of his contribution to the world's knowledge of Africa.

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MORALITY AND RELIGION.

BY PROF. H. V. DIVATIA, M. A., LL. B.

NOTHING connected with religion can be said to be too much discussed. Since the first appearance of man on the earth, religion in a more or less refined state has been the most predominant factor in shaping the form of his life. And it is not too much to say that so long as human life lasts on the earth, religion will never cease to inspire and guide its course in all its multifarious pursuits. Ingrained as it is in the very nature of man, it can never be expunged from human aspirations and activities. Consciously or unconsciously, man lives by his Religion and his whole life is tinged by his religious views. If he forms a true and adequate conception of religion and acts up to it, the mission of his life is fulfilled. If on the other hand, he allows his mind to be swayed by false and corrupt views imposed upon him by what he conceives to be religious authority, his spiritual growth remains stunted and his capacities unexercised and undeveloped. But religion of some sort he must have by the necessity of his nature. The Divine spark of reason which illuminates and transforms the animal nature of his soul makes him both a physical and metaphysical being.

In the face of this vital significance which religion possesses in human life, the question, what is the place of morality in the province of religion, is invested with supreme and almost sacred importance. The essence of this question lies in enquiring into the nature of our moral life, the ultimate presuppositions on which morality rests for support, nay, even for its very existence, and the intimate and organic relation between the principles of morality and their religious grounds. To unfold this extensive subject in all its details and ramifications is a task that cannot and, indeed, need not be attempted here. For the object of this paper is to present in as short a compass as possible, the relation of the ethical side of our life with its religious aspect. We will, therefore, begin by stating concisely our conception of the nature of morality.

Ethics, the science of morality, is concerned with the investigation of those general principles which enable us to estimate the rightness and wrongness of human conduct. Strictly speaking, it is both a science and an art inasmuch as it analyses our moral experience and establishes the general principles which govern our conduct and at the same time furnishes us with rules which are to be followed in carving out our moral career. It is best defined as a "Normative Science"—a science that sets up a ruling ideal of conduct before us which we should always try to approach, but which, by its very character of remaining always an ideal in the sense of never being fully actualised in experience, regulates all our activities and secures the perpetual possibility of moral progress. Now, the kind of conduct which this science has to investigate is that conduct which is the outcome of our voluntary life and for which we can be held responsible. It is only those actions which are chosen by our own will that form the contents of our moral conduct and hence in judging in action as moral or immoral, we have to trace that action to the mind of the man who did it and pre-eminently to his will from which the action has sprung. In fact, that conduct only can be called moral which reveals a moral will—a will that selects those actions which reason pronounces to be right and duty bids it do. It will

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thus be seen that morality is concerned chiefly with the inner or mental side of our actions and hence it is that the moral value of an action is judged not so much by the external effect which it produces as by the motive which it reveals. It follows then that moral progress consists in the gradual purification of our will and moral virtues imply that the mind should be so trained as to direct the will towards right objects. The obligation to do the right and nothing but the right has its ultimate root in the obligation to train the will so as to reject all improper and unworthy motives from the mind and direct its activity to achieve rectitude in thought and in actions.

Now, the question arises: What is the nature of the human will? or rather, what is the nature of the human mind of which the will is one of the activities? But, again, when we ask what is the nature of the human mind? that question cannot be answered unless by stating it in its truer and more precise form. What is the nature of man? but here, again, when we begin to reflect upon the question as regards the characteristic nature of man, we are at once launched forth into another enquiry without which the question remains unsolved, *viz.*, what is the place of man in the Universe? and ultimately this enquiry lands us on the distinctly philosophical and religious question. What is the fundamental nature and constitution of the Universe itself? All these questions are so inseparably connected with each other that no one can be completely answered without the solution of the others. Thus it is that the central question of morality, What man is to do? or rather, what man is to be, is at bottom a philosophical as well as a religious question, and we may shortly subsume the result of our investigation so far reached into the general proposition that religion and philosophy form the necessary back-ground of morality.

It would seem that to say this is to arrive at the end of our enquiry. On the contrary, it is here that our true enquiry begins. Such a general proposition is still vague and traces merely in outlines the relation between morality and religion. We have now to fill in these outlines with details. After having seen that there is an intimate relation between morality and religion, we have now to see what kind of relation exists between them.

Now, in the first place, it is to be noted that morality as well as religion are possible to man in his capacity of a being endowed with self-conscious reason. It is because man is rational that the feelings of moral responsibility and religious sin dominate all his activities. The faculty of self-consciousness transforms his animal nature and marks him off from other lower beings from whom he has been biologically evolved. In fact, moral and religious phenomena would have been nowhere but for the existence of self-conscious beings. It is natural, therefore, that if we have to seek the principal field of human activities, it is to be found in the dignified but gravely responsible sphere of moral and religious activities which are so distinctive of him. To be perfectly moral in the goal of his activities, the ideal of his self-conscious nature. Can we now exactly define the nature of this ideal? On this point a good deal of divergence of opinion has existed among moralists of all ages and countries. The question has been put in various forms: What is the *Summum Bonum* or the greatest good of man? What is the nature of an ideal wise man? What are the characteristics of an ideal life of duty? From very ancient times, in fact, ever since the rise of speculation in the moral field, two divergent theories about the nature of the moral ideal have asserted their claims and divided moralists into two schools. The Rationalistic School has laid

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exclusive stress upon the rational nature of man and regarded the ideal life as one determined purely by reason devoid of all motives springing from the irrational side of mind. On the other hand, the Hedonistic School has fixed its ideal upon the attainment of universal happiness and regarded pleasure as the ultimate object of human desires. We will not pause here to discuss the relative merits of these theories. It is only necessary to observe that both of them contain an element of truth in them but are more or less abstract and one-sided. If human nature necessarily contains a rational as well as an irrational element in it, the only true ideal is a life of harmony and concord between them and the regulation of all natural impulses by the light of reason. Our instincts, desires, passions, affections, etc., form the raw-material of morality and the ideal of conduct consists neither in altogether suppressing them nor in allowing them free and unchecked play but in transforming them into an ordered system and making them subservient to the realisation of our rational nature. Such realisation, we may say, is the true end of self-consciousness.

Having now perceived the nature of the moral ideal, let us next see what is involved in the attainment of it. In the process of self-realisation, it is the very essence of one who is conscious of himself to determine himself. In other words, man as opposed to lower beings is not impelled to action purely by external influences but contains in himself the power to determine his will by his own motives and is thus a being endowed with freedom of will. In the inner conflict between his animal and self-conscious nature *i. e.*, between passions and reason, it is he himself who is conscious of the conflict and determines his natural impulses by the Law of Reason. Under this fierce struggle between Satan and God in man, the process of moralisation goes on and it is just through this conflict between nature and spirit that the moral as well as the religious consciousness is developed.

Let us now briefly enquire how this is brought about. We have seen that the great problem of morality is to solve the contradiction between the lower and the higher element in human nature. Whether we represent this antithesis as between sense and reason, egoism and altruism or between nature and spirit, we are expressing one and the same fact that human nature contains within itself two elements which occasionally come into conflict with each other and pull the mind in opposite directions. Now if morality is to be possible, these two sides of our nature be maintained in harmonious equilibrium and progress towards the moral ideal must consist in constant efforts to establish this equilibrium as a permanent part of our voluntary activities. But is such a perfect concordance possible? Can human reason come into conflict with passions and impulses, conquer them and ultimately make them completely subservient to its own end? The answer must be that although the ideal consists in a complete subordination of the lower to the higher term in the case of every moral conflict in the mind, human nature, in so far as it is human, can never fully succeed in harmonising these conflicting elements. Man can make indefinite approximations towards this ideal, but so long as the lower impulses play even a small part in the human mind, so long as human intellect labours under necessary limitations, so long the ideal of Morality can never be fully actualised in practice. Thus Morality is by its nature a partial solution of this contradiction and the moral life, however progressive, retains its earthly tinge and can never completely emerge from this external conflict. Is then the ideal of morality a vague, unrealisable goal, a phantom of our imagination? If so, it is

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not worth the name of ideal and can never act as an attractive force to the mind. Such an ideal can never inspire moral progress and can never create enthusiasm for moral regeneration. But such is, indeed, not the true character of this ideal. If moral progress implies an ideal, even though unattainable from the point of view of morality, that ideal, in order that it be true to its name, must not be a mere dead and unattractive goal but a living and inspiring ideal which can stimulate all our activities and illuminate our moral progress. It is here that we cross the threshold and enter the domain of religion. It is religion and religion alone that can provide and sustain such an ideal. It is always a fundamental principle of progress that what is an ideal from one point of view, must to be an inspiring ideal be actualised in a higher plane. It is in the conception of God the Type of moral perfection that the search of one ideal can ultimately rest and what was an ideal from the moral point of view is recognised as the Supreme Reality 'in Whom we live, move and have one Being.' In the words of Principal Caird, 'it may be said to be the essential characteristic of religion as contrasted with morality that it changes aspiration into fruition, anticipation into realisation; that instead of leaving man in the interminable pursuit of a vanishing ideal, it makes him an actual partaker of a Divine and infinite life.' Thus it is that the moral consciousness leads to the religious from which it receives in turn a new significance. The evolution of the moral consciousness reaches its perfection when it stands on the threshold of religious life in passing through which it bears a new aspect and additional significance. It is in the field of religion that morality finds its crown and consummation and rests for its ultimate support. It is in the field of religion that passion and reason, nature and spirit which are found to be antagonistic from the point of view of morality are seen in their ultimate unity in the Divine source of infinite power and infinite goodness, the type of all that is true, beautiful and good in Nature.

It will thus be seen that our enquiry into the ultimate basis of morality lands us on the shore of religion. It is here that we find a firm ground where the superstructure of morality can rest on solid foundation. The religious faith in the moral constitution of the universe can alone preserve the mind in a calm and hopeful attitude in the midst of perplexing anomalies of moral life. Besides, the obligation to do the right is now recognised as not simply as an obligation between man and man but as between man and God. The moral law is perceived in its true grandeur when it is recognised not as creation of the human mind but as an authoritative voice of the Divine power that demands unconditional obedience and the violation of which is not simply a moral vice but religious sin. It is the unique sentiment of reverence that binds the moral with the religious consciousness and invests the former with a sacred awe and majesty. In the striking words of Dr. Martineau, reverence 'cannot express itself without resorting to language more than ethical and plainly crossing the boundary into the field of religion. It lives in the presence of souls that are holy, of dispositions that are heavenly, of tempers that are saintly, of love that is divine; and will not bear to have these objects of its thought flattened and disfigured by being labelled as simply right or virtuous. It insists on investing them with a light of sacredness... The force of moral restraint gets wings and with a last spring of the toiling feet, is borne, through the air with the swiftness of devout enthusiasm.'

It is not difficult to realise now that the relation between morality and religion is a relation between a lower and a higher state of mind. One and the same action will be simply moral or merit the name of religious according as it

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proceeds from the lower or the higher mental state. Moreover, both these states of consciousness are in organic relation with each other. While religion is the ultimate basis of morality and supplies the necessary sanction of the moral law and obligation, morality, in turn, is the most important manner in which the religious consciousness can realise itself. Thus their true relation is that of form and matter, religion as the formative principle of morality and morality as an essential factor of religion. And just as form and matter are inseparable in their essence, so morality and religion can never be divorced from each other. While, however, it is necessary to bear this relation in mind, it should not be forgotten that these two states of mind, though inseparable in their root, are clearly distinguishable in their characteristics. The religious mind is pervaded with a wider knowledge, deeper emotion and stronger will than the moral mind. It glows with a strong conviction of Divine reality and ardent love for humanity which the merely moral mind misses. Besides, religion imparts a peace and tranquility to the mind which the distracted moral mind is lacking in.

One of the most important elements which distinguishes the moral from the religious consciousness is emotion. Mathew Arnold has described religion as 'Morality touched with emotion.' This distinction is, however, not precise. It is indeed true that a strongly-marked emotion is a chief characteristic of the religious consciousness, but it should not be forgotten that emotion in a more or less degree, is present even in those states of mind which are undoubtedly moral but which we would hesitate to call religious. Mere presence of emotion does not elevate a mental state from the moral to the religious stage. When a man feels sympathy for his suffering fellow-brethren and does what he can to relieve them from their miserable condition, it is not necessary that he should in doing so, be conscious of the ultimate religious ground of his action. But, still his mind is filled with the feeling of sympathy for the sufferers. In short, both the moral as as well as the religious state of mind always contain a certain amount of emotion. There is, however, an important distinction between the kinds of emotion that accompany these two states of mind. In the case of a conflict, say, between benevolence and selfishness, the kind of emotion that is present in the mind of a man who does not know the ultimate religious ground of the superiority of the former over the latter, but whose affection for his fellow-men succeeds in checking the whisper of his egoistic instinct, is decidedly inferior in quality as well as quantity to the highly developed emotion that fills the heart of one in whom benevolence has taken the higher form of a total forgetfulness of his own self and a deep rooted love for God and humanity. The consciousness of the former is moral while that of the latter is more developed and deserves the name of religious. When we, however, recognise that the religious mind is marked by a higher and wider form of emotion, we should never lose sight of the fact that emotion or piety is not the sole important element of religion. There are many religious systems which declaim any knowledge about God and regard religion as consisting in a boundless love or devotion for Him. But it is a fundamental fact connected with the religious life that to know God, to love Him and to act in His path of righteousness are all equally indispensable elements of the religious consciousness. It is an important psychological truth that a state of intense emotion for an object unexpressed in any adequate state of knowledge or will is a mental waste. If God is to be truly loved. He can be and must be known so far as the limitations of the human intellect permit. But what is more important still is that if He is to be loved, that love should never be allowed to wither itself in the

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mind without being expressed in actions. In fact, love for God and love for righteousness are inseparable in their origin. The human mind becomes fully religious when the emotive side of its nature becomes a powerful ally and supporter of the moral element and reason, emotion as well as will combine to produce the highest form of harmony and beauty.

Having now seen that the religious consciousness is a further and necessary development of the moral consciousness and that it is the culminating point of human progress it is important for our purpose to enquire in what form the religious life should express itself. After the foregoing analysis of the religious consciousness, it is not now difficult for us to settle this important question. We have seen that religion does not primarily mean a formal system but a state of mind the highest state to which the mind can raise itself. Nothing is so difficult and rare as to attain this state. Hundreds of persons whom the world looks upon as religious and who fondly believe themselves to be religious by blindly attaching their devout but undeveloped religious impulse to this or that religion, creed or ceremonial, are not strictly speaking religious at all. As long as religion has not evolved from within, as long as religious emotion, religious will and religious knowledge are divorced from one another, as long as will does not obey what reason dictates or emotion wanders where reason cannot follow, so long the mind and therefore the man is not entitled to be called fully religious. It is just in accordance with this view that Schelling describes religion as 'not an instinct groping towards the Divine and not mere emotional devoutness. For God, if he is God, must be the heart and life of all thinking and all action and not a mere object of devout passion or of belief.....Religion means that an action is bound, obliged, that there is no choice between opposite but supreme decidedness for the right without option.'

The true end of religious worship, therefore, is to purify and ennoble the mind and the only justification of ceremonial rites and other paraphernalia connected with religious worship must be found in their moral value of concentrating and purifying the mind and of preserving as well as intensifying the religious emotion. They are not the end but the means—it may be for some indispensable means, but still the means—of religious worship and nothing is more perversed in the religious sphere than to mistake this means for the end and then, as it frequently happens, to cling to them in manners which defeat their own end. The history of religious creeds is full of episodes where the so-called religious ceremonials have sanctioned forms of conduct which we cannot refrain from calling immoral. Such, indeed, must be the case when religion ceases to be a living force and sinks merely into a collection of lifeless dogmas invented by a priesthood itself ignorant of the truth of religion. No wonder that in such circumstances the spring of moral life and inspiration is scorched to the bottom resulting in the moral death of the people. It is here that we have to realise the true significance of the great religious institution of priesthood. Its true function lies in turning the religious enthusiasm of the untutored worshippers into proper channels and above all, in elevating their moral nature by enjoining virtuous actions under the powerful sanction of religion. Indeed, hardly any profession is more noble and philanthropic than the service of instructing the people in religious faith and practice, but at the same time hardly any profession requires more culture, more sincerity and more selflessness than the profession of religious preaching. The intellectual and moral qualities of such preachers serve as a index to the respective [illegible] of the society in which they work and

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hence one of the most important steps in the development of the religious life is the creation of a cultured class of priesthood well-acquainted with its duties and responsibilities. Instead of tying down the conscience of men to got-up dogmas and selfishly imposed rites, it is the duty of the priests to train it so that it can scale the moral ladder by its own strength. The institution of priesthood can therefore be an unmixed blessing only when it becomes a potent force in the moral awakening of mankind.

There is one point connected with the formal side of religion that deserves to be noticed in this connection. If it is true that religion is primarily a mental state that must be embodied in all our thoughts and action, it follows that a life of mere speculation and total indifference to worldly objects is quite the opposite of a life which religion requires. Surely, speculation in its true sense is as much indispensable in religious knowledge as it is in any other department of knowledge not excluding even Natural Science itself. At the same time contemplation and meditation too are the most effectual means of developing the power of the will as well as of sustaining the activity of thought and most of all, of religious thought. But just as mere devoutness is no religion, so too a life of mere contemplation unexpressed in actions is unjustifiable from moral as well as from religious point of view. The evil becomes glaring especially when a religious creed by its sanction, creates a class of persons who renounce all worldly activities and become professional ascetics. However conscientious their mind may be such persons have always, as a class, a tendency to degenerate into idlers and dreamers, and depend for their existence upon their charitably disposed but weak-minded brethren in society. The whole order of such religious mendicants that delight in a secluded life and aim to be as free from the perturbations of the world as possible is not simply economically but also morally unjustifiable as a religious institution. It is nothing but a sort of moral cowardice to fly from the duties of life and any religious system that gives its sanction to such an institution must be said to have taken a retrogade step in the path of moral progress. The true way of doing service to the religious cause is to work in and not out of society and the essence of asceticism lies not in a tortuous annihilation of all desires but in self-control by the mind in the midst of an active life.

Some of the best examples which clearly show the organic relation between religion and morality by which faith in religious beliefs is grounded upon their moral value and the obligation to be moral can in turn be rooted and strengthened in the mind when it is stimulated by religious ground behind it can be found in the universal belief of Heaven and Hell, the theories of re-birth and resurrection and the firm faith in the immortality of the soul. The earthly joys that are the reward of a good soul in the bright halls of Heaven and the various kinds of tortuous pain that fall to the lot of a wicked soul in the dark and gloomy regions of Hell are projections of our imagination by which we try to reconcile the actual fruits of virtue and vice with the moral government of the world. Though unphilosophical, this dogma of Heaven and Hell has laid hold of the minds of numerous people chiefly on account of the satisfaction it gives to their moral cravings and it affords an admirable instance of the unique power which any kind of religious belief possesses to re-inforce the promptings of morality. The theories of re-birth and resurrection, too, in spite of metaphysical difficulties which they involve, have been persistently embraced by a large number of mankind chiefly for their moral significance. Similarly, the religious doctrine of the immortality of the soul is based upon the moral argument. The spiritual

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nature of man which lifts him above the merely natural world of time and space makes him aware that his consciousness does not obey the laws of matter and motion and that as a moral agent, he belongs to the realm of freedom as opposed to natural necessity. And on this knowledge is based the firm faith that the soul is indestructible by any natural means and hence immortal. This is not, indeed, a blind faith but a faith that is postulated by our moral reason and giving life to our deep-seated hopes and aspirations.

We are now brought to the close of our enquiry. Morality and religion we have perceived to be organically related to each other. 'In different ways religion presupposes morality to fill up its vacant form and morality presupposes religion to give its laws an ultimate sanction which at the same time point beyond their limitations.' Just as exercise promotes health and health in turn expresses itself in exercise, so too, does morality gain stability and fixity in religion, and religion best expresses itself in morality. To recognise this fundamental truth and to incorporate it into all our activities is the most important step in the realisation of human nature. Indeed, the task is not an easy one. Nothing is more difficult than to maintain the moral equilibrium in the mind in this world of sorrows and temptations and to follow invariably the stern voice of duty 'in the scorn of consequences.' In the upward path of moral progress, each one of us has to encounter obstacles that are numerous and disheartening. The way is long, the ascent is steep, the steps are narrow, the height is dizzy and the mist is thick but behold ! there is a light at the top which shines with a calm and steadfast lustre upon us, illuminates the path that lies before us and ma es us feel that however difficult our uphill task may be, we are not left to grope our way in solitude and in darkness but are in the eternal presence of one who is the constant witness of our toils and sends out rays of faith and hope from his serene and lofty height.

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INCIDENCE OF INDIAN CAPITAL UPON INDIAN ECONOMICS.

By Mr. MUKAT BEHARI LAL BHARGAVA, B. A.

I HAD in the course of my previous article, an occasion to remark that India's emancipation from the fetters of poverty depends upon her economic advancement no less than on social and political progress. And it is a matter of great satisfaction that economic evolution is visible throughout the length and b readth of the country. The spirit of advancing the cause of indigenous industries had been present in a latent form, but the birth of the swadeshi movement in 1905 fanned the flame, and within the span of five short years factories have sprung up like mushrooms. The torch of Swadeshism has diffused the light of industrialism through every stratum of society with the obvious result that the spirit of promoting the industrial aspect of the country has become an almost universal possession. It can, in this connection, be pointed out with gratification that with the exception of a few Anglo-Indian nobodies who look askance upon every movement that is likely to prove beneficial to this country, the British Government as a true liberal Government, is always ready to befriend us is this respect.

We meet in every town of some note some factory, the origin of which can directly or indirectly be traced to this happy swadeshi movement, but in most cases people start such factories without carefully pondering over the *pros* and *cons* of the situation and without taking into consideration the wherewithals for their successful working. To launch forth an industry without its necessary requisites is certainly courting failure and to give an occasion to the outsiders to poohpooh our aims. Now what are the wherewithals for conducting an industry successfully ?

We have read in books of political economy that the primary and universal agents of production are land, labour and capital. The last agent though in itself a product of land and labour has been given a distinct place among the requisites of production because of the important part it plays in producing wealth. I shall reserve my remarks on other agents of production for some future occasion and confine myself to "Capital" in this sketch.

Before discussing the subject at length it is absolutely essential that the sense of the term Capital, as used in this paper, is explained. What is Capital? Capital according to Sir Thomas Raleigh is that

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portion of the wealth which "is used to assist production". The capital of a civilised nation includes fixed capital (*i.e.* building, machines, roads used in the course of production or exchange) and circulating capital (*i. e.* food, fuel, money, etc., spent in the course of production). John Stuart Mill, the famous Political Economist has remarked that 'Capital' by persons wholly unused to reflect on the subject, is supposed to be synonymous with money. It is no more synonymous with money than wealth is synonymous with money." No body can question the correctness of the above remark of Mill, but it must be admitted that the chiefest and the most important representative of capital is money. The system of bartering is a thing of the past, the stock in trade of, say, a draper cannot purchase anything unless it is first exchanged with money. In fact money is now the only medium of exchange. We should have money to build factories, money to purchase tools, to purchase fuel and what not. Thus barring the primeval state of society when the natural helpers of production land, fuel, water, etc., could be had for nothing, money is the source of everything which aids production. I shall therefore in this paper limit the sense of the term 'Capital' so as to mean "money intended or set apart for industrial and commercial pursuits."

One of the cardinal propositions of the Economic Science is that the amount of an industry is always in proportion to the amount of Capital applied to it or in Mill's words: "Industry is limited by Capital". The backwardness of Indian industries can, to a great extent, be traced to the shyness of Indian capital. There are no doubt factories which are run on very gigantic scales, for instance, the railways, the jute factories and collieries in Bengal, but almost all of them are worked by foreign capital. The poverty of India is, no doubt, a great deal responsible for this paucity of swadeshi capital, but that is certainly not the sole cause. There are no Rockfellers and Carnegies in India, but still there are Tatas, Marwaries and Bhatias who can invest any amount of wealth in lucrative industries. But the spirit of hoarding money is regrettably rampant in the richer classes and it has taken a very deep root in their minds. Even the educated classes who are naturally the leaders of the country and who should, on account of their being in a position to know and understand the immense advantages of such investments, set an example, believe in "visible wealth." The words Credit and Exchange are almost unknown to the moneyed classes except in business centres which are very few in number. Investment is purely a western institution and the Indians require time to learn its advantages. We are

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told that in western countries a person would not lend £20 on interest to his closest friend but invest several times as much in a concern of which he has read only in his newspaper. The risk thus involved is worth running as it leads in the long run to the pecuniary good of his own country and it is such risks which have made Europe what it is, "far out-shinning the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind."

How to create capital ? is the question which I shall next discuss. To put the question in another form how to engender the habit of investing the savings of a family in commercial and industrial enterprises? The tendency of converting these savings into ornaments and jewels has become chronic and it requires time, spirit and courage to break this time-honoured institution. There are also instances when men prefer to bury their earnings underground to investing the same in useful industries. For the former the charm of visible gold is a great deal responsible, while both these tendencies are also due to the unsettled state of society in the middle ages. Person and property were exposed to thousand and one dangers. India was, before the advent of her present rulers and during the latter portion of the Mahomedan rule, divided into a number of principalities, which were always ready to swallow one another. The Government enriched itself at the sacrifice of its own subject population, nor was there any protection offered by the Government for defending one's well earned property from another. The natural sequel of this tyranny and violence was that the people concealed what they had and tried to earn only as much as was sufficient for satisfying the bare necessities of life. This was the most paralysing agent to the activities of the producer. Thanks however to the British Government which though exacting enough, considering the acute poverty of the people is not yet so rapacious as to endanger the honestly produced wealth of an individual or a community. A man can hope to utilise his savings and to enjoy the fruits of his labour ; his earnings are secure; capital can be amassed if proper care and frugality are exercised.

For accumulation of business capital one thing is absolutely essential and that is "Credit." Credit in itself does not in any way help production, for what is credit ? Credit is only transfer of capital from incapable to capable or from less capable to more capable hands. Some men can employ capital in better ways than others, but if they have no capital their life is merely an unproductive existence so far as the economic world is concerned. On the other hand, huge sums of capital in inefficient or incompetent hands are

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annihilated for want of sufficient skill for putting them to productive uses. These capitalists gain nothing nor is the society a whit better by the existence of that capital. Whereas if credit exists and is profusely employed both the owner of capital and society reap the benefit thereof. The capital which is in the hands of a layman is lent at interest to those experts who can put it to most productive uses. Thus as confidence on which credit is grounded increases even the small savings of comparatively poor classes are made available for productive uses.

The principal instruments for this object are the banks of deposit. It is with no small regret that we have to pen about the fewness of such banks in India. Of course, there is the Imperial Savings Bank in every important village, but in spite of its offering better security to the public for depositing their savings we do not derive much good from them in so far as the country's interest as a whole is concerned. What one would wish is that there should be an indigenous bank or a branch of such bank in every town of some note. The advantages of indigenous banking are obvious. With what horror we had read not long ago that the failure of the Arbuthnots in Madras spelled misery to the vast majority of the public of that town and its suburbs, not to speak of others. All the money, of course, went to Europe and that country, though individuals suffered, was all the same richer by the amount of capital deposited by Indians.

Every prudent person keeps or at least ought to keep a sufficient amount of money in his possession to meet emergencies. If there is a bank in the locality affording sufficient security and offering a fair rate of interest, certainly no body will like to run the risk of keeping it in his own custody, but will deposit the same with the banker. Thus many small sums lying idle with the owners become accumulated with the banker who after keeping with him a sufficient amount to meet depositor's demands in a given time lends the balance which is by far the greater part, to expert businessmen and thus by adding to the already existing productive capital increases the aggregate production of the country.

Thus we see that credit is almost indispensable for rendering the whole capital of a country productive. Besides as I have shown above, credit is also a means to utilise the industrial talent of the country in the best possible manner for purposes of production.

We have thus seen that the existence of indigenous banks, is absolutely essential for amassing money capital to carry on industries. Now we shall discuss whether the Government should be purely

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private or they should be conducted as joint stock concerns. Mr. Reginald Murray, Chief Manager, Commercial Bank of India, Calcutta, sent a valuable paper on the organisation of capital in India to be read at the Indian Industrial Conference held at Benares in 1905. In it he says:—

"The system of Joint Stock Banks is better than that of private banks because they offer more certain securities to the depositor and are less partial and more consistent, in their methods of distribution. Their greater security lies in the publication of their biannual audited statements, in the fact that these accounts are critically checked and examined by professional auditors, nominated by the share holders, by the supervision of Directors also nominated by the shareholders and by a system of checking and book-keeping which, if properly superintended, ensures a correctness which is almost automatic". The practical absence of co-operative credit in India can be traced to social peculiarities of the people. The productive employment of money represents in the opinion of Mr. Murray an advanced stage of national sentiment when the individual feels that his interests are bound up with the interests of the community and whatever advances the latter is calculated to advance the former. We, Indians, are still very backward in respect of banking chiefly because we have not yet evolved the above mentioned sentiment. This merging of individual into commercial or the national interest is the element which is wanting to leaven economic life and to bring into organised activity the wealth-making capacity that exists already in latent abundance.

It is however evident from the advertisements in the papers where there are to be found notices of Indian Banks, Insurance Companies, etc., that an effort is being made to induce the circulation of money and to introduce more freely the western methods which make the actual possession of hard cash no longer the *sine qua non* of existence.

These banks, etc., are very good in their way but the knowledge of them is confined only to dwellers in towns and cities where men are daily brought in contact with western life and ways. The difficulty lies chiefly in the mofussil where mostly the money is held in large quantities and those people who can help in bringing it out for productive investment will be rendering a real service to the country.

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"CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR AFGHANISTAN!"

BY "DURRANI."

THE great transition which has made great and unexpected changes in the mysterious and philosophical lands of the East is unanimously attributed to the unlooked for and unforeseen victories of the Oriental Japan over the Occidental Russia. It roused the hitherto silent, patient and yielding nationalities of Asia to a sense of general activity, a sense of political union and common action against a so-called common enemy which in the majority of cases found expression in a desperate struggle against the despotism of their rulers and the establishment of a western constitutional Government in the country. Such process of action have often led to sorrowful results and seldom otherwise, and has never realised the ambition of its originators. It has in most cases badly told on the already waning power of the Eastern kingdoms and empires, giving the Westerners greater chance and excuse to deprive them of their choicest realms. In other words, it was the cause of hastening the causes of ruin, already at work, by creating division between an already disunited society. What was thought to be a healing balm proved a most deadly poison and what was regarded as an invigorating tonic turned into a weakening draught. Turkey and Persia are the living examples. In the former the introduction of the so much hailed constitution proved the loss of one province after the other, nay, a signal for the enemies of the Empire to swoop down and help themselves with the portion which they had already ear-marked; and worst of all a complete discord among the Mahommedan and Turkish subjects of the Caliph, a thing hitherto unknown in the annals of the Ottoman Empire; while in the case of the latter almost an entire loss of independance and still more valuable peace. Last in the list of the victims of the borrowed Western Constitution comes China, who has only recently transformed her Government from one of the most ancient despotism into a republic, a form of government never heard of in the East and she holds her tale in reserve yet to relate. After studying the sad tale of these countries as the net result of yearning for Western democracy, we are led to ask, are not these bitter lessons sufficient to intimidate Easterners from pursuing such a hazardous policy? Does the Asiatic mouth still water for Constitutional Government so Greek to their tradition, ideas, social position and customs? The reply seems very unfortunately in the negative in the first instance and in the affirmative in the second. The recently overturned Dragon throne and the abortive plot against the Lord of the White Elephant at Bangkok shows that Asia still dances to the accompaniment of the following :—

What though the field lost
All is not lost,

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In order to encourage her children in the path of democray and to atone for the mistakes of the past she counsels them " Beloved children ! Albeit your efforts to revive my bygone lustre with borrowed materials of my rival the West, has not been crowned with success, yet does a failure mean entire resignation, complete disheartenment and a retreat ? Has not similar fate befallen the White races ?" While absorbed in studying these knotty problems in the different corners of the vast continent of Asia, Afghanistan which we have hitherto ignored, claims attention. " Peculiar ! what pretension has Afghanistan in such like matters on our attention, what claims can she put forth as a country worthy of public interest. Is she not an insignificant land-locked state under British protection lying beyond the North-West Frontier of India?" Such are the disdainful remarks, we presume, the readers will make when we begin to reflect about Afghanistan unaware as they are about the importance of the country as one of the most dominant factor in the problem of the Middle East. Perceiving the general atmosphere in the Orient now-a-days so full with the yell and cry "Down with despotism" we feel encouraged to endeavour to read the political barometer in Afghanistan in order to ascertain that how far the recent gale has affected it.

To the majority of readers and certainly to the majority of the people the mere suggestion of discussing the tendencies of the Afghans to overthrow the despotic rule of the Amir and to replace it by representative Government a purely European invention and institution seems quite preposterous yet none-the-less an interesting reading. The former sentiment is the natural conclusion of the backwardness of the Afghan nation while the latter a fruit of the curiosity. To the former we come forward with a reply that nothing should be held as impossible and to scorn in these days of " wonders " while the latter affords us an encouragement to discuss a question which has seldom formed the subject of the pen of the writers on the affairs of the Middle East. The study of the national sentiments, and susceptibilities both religious and rational of the Afghans seems to form the best means to come to a conclusion as to whether a Constitutional Government is possible and desirable in Afghanistan. In order to facilitate our task we divide it into two parts, firstly the influence from abroad and the deduction the Afghans draw from it and secondly, the natural tendencies and the feelings of the people which go for and against the matter.

As already alluded to, it was the victories of Japan in Manchuria which led the Orientals to suppose that the secret of her greatness and sudden progress lay in her changing of her ancient autocracy and the adoption of the Western democracy pure and simple. This sentiment alone is, we believe to a large extent, responsible for the agitation all over Asia in the recent years which has led in the majority of cases to political outrages or sudden conversion of the indigenous *regime* which process has been the prime cause of the dismemberment of the kingdoms and empires. The first victim of these ideas was Persia who in 1906 being turned mad with zeal for emulating

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Japan made their monarch Mozuffer-ud-din Shah grant them a constitution when he was helplessly lying on his death bed. No doubt the introduction of a constitutional *regime* in Persia, a country whose destinies are so closely knitted with Afghanistan influenced the feelings of the Afghans very much towards their ruler. The news of the emancipation of the Persians was at first received in Afghanistan with a feeling of great relief and subdued jubilation. After centuries of thraldom both despotic and religious the Afghan mind began to leap with joy at the prospect of the day when they would enjoy similar privileges as their Iranian brethren. It was frequently argued that is it not what is good for the goose is good for the gander, that what the Persians accomplished the sturdy and warlike Afghans would fail. The feelings of the people being thus roused against despotism it was further stimulated by the triumph of the Young Turks and the fall of Abdul Hamid.

The feeling was now running very high for demoracy. Some who still held that autocracy was the only form of government suited to the Afghan temperament were looked askance by the people in Kabul; when it was found that Sultan the Spiritual leader of Islam has shared his powers with his subjects and has subjected his authority to law; why should not the Amir? Soon these feelings found support from one Doctor Abdul Ghani, B. A., the Director of the Public Instructions in Afghanistan who as it is alleged formed a secret society whose programme was, to poison the Amir and his reactionary entourage and thus inaugurate a Constitutional *regime* under a more popular prince subservient to the will of his people. The plot was soon discovered, and those guilty were exemplarily punished while the leader was flung in prison without any trial, it seems for good. Thus the abortive anti-Amir and pro-Constitutional conspiracy, the first of its kind in Afghanistan was nipped in the bud. Again, though the battle was lost all was not lost and the news of the constant triumphs of the Orientals which poured into Afghanistan through different channels kept the Afghan mind warm with sympathy for those who were honestly endeavouring for it, and an undying relish to see a similar form of government established in their own country. That there is a fall after each rise is universally being admitted. Soon after re-actionary feelings began to overtake the mind of the Orientals in general and that of the Afghans in particular with as much rapidity as the love for constitution had done. As the Japanese triumphs over Russia had contributed towards it, so had the Turkish failures in Tripoli and the Persian crisis done against the Constitutional mania in the East. Now the Afghans have begun to denounce their Persian neighbours for having worked for their own ruin. "But for the parliamentry *regime*' so the Afghans blame them "Persia would not have experienced such bad times". Such was the ephemeral existence of the Afghan love for the parliamentary government. Many a reader would ridicule such a conclusion I have drawn and would reasonably suggest that it is absurd to talk of a parliamentary

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government for Afghanistan unless the people of that kingdom have received modern education. Indeed, the reason is very sound, yet there would be many people acquainted with the country and its people who will agree with the writer of this short article that *parliamentary government is not suited to Afghanistan education notwithstanding*. Let us now proceed with some explanation of our theory. Those who are thoroughly acquainted with the susceptibilities, religion, custom and habits of the Afghans, will agree I hope that Parliament should be the last measure to be concerted by the friends of that nation as means of its progress, though certainly not a reformed government. A reformed and civilised form of government is one thing, while a representative one quite another. The slavish subserviency taught to and expected from an Afghan from his boyhood to all and each elder member of his family both male and female renders him incapable to tolerate liberty to his youngers and subordinates, as much as a European who is brought up from ages immemorial in a liberal atmosphere is ready to share his freedom with every individual of his own flesh and blood. The Afghan in reality is brought up in thraldom; he is a slave to his customs, his tradition and his religion. He cannot depart from his traditions as much as he cannot dispense with his limbs. He is bound hand and foot to his custom which is being rigidly followed, no matter whether it tends to his advancement or is the source of his degradation and is an impediment to his progress. Then comes his Mahommedan religion whose tenets are absolutely opposed to constitutional *regime* as the world knows it in modern time. The most prominent sentence in the *Al-Koran* from which the Mahommedan commentators of the new light generally construe that Islam recommends Parliamentry Government to its followers in the most explicit term is the following—

"Ye faithful; hold consultations in your affairs and trust in *Allah* for its execution."

Mistaken they are, for that does not imply what they interpret it to mean, but rather, if the spirit of the verses is entered, rather a reformed despotism somewhat on the model of the British Indian Government with a consultative body of ministers responsible to the ruler of the land. The four famous "Companions" of the Prophet Mohammed, Abu-Baker, Umer, Osman and Ali who followed each other in the order named above, after the demise of the Arabian Apostle both as the ruler and the Spiritual leader of Islam were no doubt elected to those exalted ranks by the unanimous consent of the people, but no history can show that their absolute power was by any means restricted or that the consultative body established by them during their respective rule consisted of anything like an elected member of a European senate. The only privilege with any pretension to the enjoyment of freedom by the people in Islam is the option given to them to choose the fittest member of the ruling house to wield their destinies. On the whole, we believe, Islam is aversely disposed to the Modern Constitutional Government while reserving as its peculiarity a reformed and civilised absolutism. So an

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Afghan who is a staunch follower of Mohammad on the one hand and the slave of his custom and tradition on the other can never be expected to adopt a form of Government which proved so disastrous in the case of his Turkish and Persian co-religionists. On the other hand, there are travellers and historians who oppose our views and assert that Parliamentary Government is the most ancient form of Government in Afghanistan and that it existed when the society was still in its primitive stage, of course holding *jirga* or the village *Panchayat* as its proof. Writing about the democratic character of the Afghan Mr. Tate in the pages of his recent history of that country says :— "The progress of modern ideas which promises to remould the conservative and the despotic monarchies of Turkey and Persia into some form of constitutional Governments cannot but affect Afghanistan in course of time; and it is easy to understand the interest which events in those countries are reported to have created among the Afghans, who appear to be peculiarly susceptible to a movement which has revolutionised the Mahommedan Empires of the Western Asia by reason of *their democratic nature* and the practice of managing their domestic affairs by means of tribal and family councils." Even in these domestic affairs or tribal disputes strict conservatism is being observed as there are no elected members which decide the matters but rather the elders and chiefs.

It is stiff neckedness to go against the logic of the facts. According to Dr. Dillon "Oriental nations, with perhaps one recorded exception, are unfitted by ages of political thraldom, by religious tenets and by feudal cast of mind which has become second nature, for that self-government which goes by the name of the parliamentry *regime*." Again writing on the same subject the learned Docter observes, that a constitutional government "may ruin instead of re-generating an Oriental people." If it is true with the Orientals as a whole much more so it is, in the case of the Afghan who has been living from the days of yore in the atmosphere of all-round restrictions, and thus such sort of living has become his second nature. As a further illustration of the inadaptability of the Afghan for a democratic form of government we may advance the case of the reign of Amir Abdul Rahman Khan, the secret of whose administrative success lay in centralising the government of the country in his own person while the failure of his predecessor Amir Sher Ali may be attributed to the latter's attempt to increase the power of his Governors, military officers, etc., in their respective spheres and to share his power with his cabinet, which was the first of its kind formed in Afghanistan.

The old order in the recent years is changing with marvellous rapidity for the new and modern style in Afghanistan. It is no wonder that His Majesty Habibullh, who is as much inclined to modernisation and reforms as his father was to consolidation, should feel disposed to remodel his system of government on modern lines. Then of course the serious problem of the choice of the system to be adopted will face him. We are disposed to believe

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that no system will be better adopted to the temper of the Afghans, the general requirements of the country, and the preservation of the monarch in the helm of the state than the one of the British Indian Government. It should form to the Amir a subject of emolution, as it kills two birds with one stone. On one hand it will retain his autocratic power quite intact while on the other it will afford his fellow subjects some form of harmless autonomy, which in itself is an essential factor of advancement. Conscious as we are that the enlargement of this subject falls quite outside the province of the present article, yet we can not dispense with certain suggestions and discussions which forms its heart and soul. In recommending the system of the administration and the constitution of the British Indian Empire for Afghanistan we will do great injustice to the subject if we fail to offer some explanation without which the subject will be something like a puzzle.

In the Indian system, the Viceroy is the head of the administration who is invested with powers by the Home Government and the British Parliament, while his actions are subject to the approval of the Imperial Legislative and Executive Councils, over both of which he presides, and ultimately by the Secretary of State for India in Council who is a permanent member of the Imperial Cabinet. In case of Afghanistan a great alteration has to be made before the Indian system can be made ready to be adopted. The cardinal principle then to be followed is to enter the Amir's autocratic power in the constitution as unassailable, subject to no limitation, and enjoying complete independence of action. With this done further steps to be taken. Instead of the Executive Council, as in India, a Council of State should be formed consisting of the members of the Royal Household, Cabinet Ministers, and other high civil and military authorities nominated by the Amir, presided over by him and its decision subject to His Majesty's approval, while a legislative body on similar basis to be established, having power to enact laws which has to be formed in view of the introduction of the modern system of administration, communications, etc., and such like laws which does not affect *Shara* (Mohammaden Law) but rather which the latter gives freedom to form. As far as the Provincial Governments they should be furnished with separate Executive Councils whose members to be elected by the people of the province, number equal to the districts which the province composes, to be presided over by the Governor while the latter's action in the affairs of the province to be subject to the sanction of the Provincial Executive Council, but the power to dissolve the Council and order new election, veto the election of the member or members, disqualify them, or entirely suppress the Council, should rest with the Amir. The placing of restrictions on the power of the Governors would go a long way to remove the causes of mal-administration, extortion, and the general grievances of the people and would greatly endear the sovereign to his subjects. By the way, let us mention that the depredation of the Governors are and were the prime cause of the risings and insurrections in Afghanistan, a fact for which the serious rising in Khost speaks volumes. Each capital

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town of the province to have besides a Muncipality Council to supervise the affairs of the improvements of the capital towns as well as that of the smaller towns in the province. Its members to be elected by the towns people, number to be determined equal to the size of the city by the Governors, while each minor town of the province should be given the right to return one member to represent their local affairs in the central Municipal Council, such as new improvements, taxation, etc. The Governors may have the power to disqualify the election of member or members, and dissolve the Council for fresh election, but the right to entirely suppress the Council should be regarded as the sole prerogative of the Amir. The succession should be made into a law whereby the oldest male issue of the sovereign should succeed him or act as regent at the time of emergency when he is not a minor. Such is the general outline of the policy of alteration before the Indian system could profitably be introduced by the Amir in the government of his country. The Indian model, moreover, has the great advantage of being one which has been personally studied and appreciated by Habibullah during his sojourn in India in the year 1907. After his return to Afghanistan, His Majesty immediately made changes in the administration of his kingdom such as the appointment of *Tehsildars*, *Naib Tehsildars*, and such minor civil functionaries; a fact which unmistakably evinced His Kabul Majesty's approval and choice of the Indian system of government. It was Amir Habibullah Khan who at the time of his accession to the throne in 1902 established a Council of State much on the same line as we recommend and which still exists after having performed valuable services to the country. Habibullah will encounter no difficulty in improving this body and forming a Cabinet of responsible ministers on European lines. Another slight difficulty, if difficulty it may be called at all, is to pass the succession of the eldest son of the Amir into a law. No doubt in old times such a step often led to disastrous results and occasioned serious jealousies; against which Amir Abdurrahman took every possible precaution, but the bad times can be regarded with certainty to have long passed by, and that no such step should in the least frighten either the present or any future ruler of Afghanistan. Habibullah's succession in preference to his father's favourite son Prince Mohammed Umer Khan and again Prince Innayetullah the present Amir's eldest son's appointment as the Afghan Crown Prince has established an unmistakable precedence in this matter.

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RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF THE VACCINATION QUESTION IN INDIA.

By Mr. KAIKHUSHRU J. TARACHAND, B. A.

DURING the last few months the vaccination question has been much to the fore in some parts of India. In Bombay, especially, the subject has been agitated almost continuously for some eighteen months or more. For many years there have been anti-vaccinists in that City, but it was not until the Municipal Corporation suggested the imposition of compulsory re-vaccination on the population that they formed themselves into an active body and started to work steadily for the freeing of the Presidency, and eventually of the whole country, from compulsory vaccination. Through their energetic action, supplemented by the efforts of sympathisers in England, the Corporation decided to re-consider the question of compulsory re-vaccination, (in favour of which they had passed a resolution), and although it is over twelve months since they came to this decision, the matter has been postponed from meeting to meeting, and it is evident they do not care to go on with their proposition. Some of the members of the Corporation, who were originally in favour of compulsory re-vaccination, have modified their views, and are ready now to vote against the proposals of the Committee.

The activity of the anti-vaccinists in Bombay seems to have troubled the official cow-poxers, and an opportunity offered itself in the organisation of the old Bombay Exhibition for a counteracting move. It was known that the opinion of the celebrated Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace would have considérable weight with the educated classes in Bombay ; and when it was found that an English medical journal, the *British Medical Journal*, had published an article, imputing gross inaccuracy to Dr. Wallace, in regard to some of his evidence before the Royal Commission on vaccination, Dr. Choksey, the organiser of the Health Section of the Exhibition, under the auspices of the Bombay Sanitary Association, decided to issue a placard. The article from the *British Medical Journal* was used as a basis for this placard, but the slandarous statements went further. The *British Medical Journal* had been careful to state, although not very clearly, that it was some French statistics of Dr. Wallace's which were inaccurate, but Dr. Choksey stated that all Mr. Wallace's evidence before the Royal Commission was "full of the grossest blunders" which, of course, was absurd. Dr. Choksey was an official of the Municipal Corporation, and when it was ascertained that he was the author of the placard, and after he refused to withdraw the statements or to apologise for them, it was decided to approach the Corporation in the matter. The representations of local anti-vaccinists were ignored; but a letter from Dr Wallace himself, showing that the only figures which were proved to be inaccurate in the whole of his evidence were some taken from French official publications, was considered by the Corporation. It is regrettable to have to state that although the Corporation could easily have ascertained the exact facts by questioning Dr. Choksey and by examining the report of the Royal Commission containing Dr. Wallace's evidence, they evaded the point, Sir P. Mehta, with his usual anxiety to shield his erring friends being especially prominent in this respect. Dr. Wallace's letter was merely recorded. However, the matter has not yet been finished with and the Bombay Sanitary Association are now being asked to disassociate themselves from the grossly misleading and slanderous statements contained in the placard.

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Among prominent persons in Bombay, who have identified themselves with the anti-vaccination movement, I might mention Miss H. F. Petit, the worthy grand-daughter of the late Parsi philanthropist, Sir Dinsha Petit, Bart. who has contributed 1,000 rupees to the National Anti-Vaccination League, whose head-quarters are in London. The League has expended considerable sums in assisting the work in India. The activity of Bombay friends has caused a number of Indian journals to be opened to anti-vaccination letters and articles, and advantage has been taken of these opportunities by many supporters of the movement.

An important case was dealt with by the Punjab Government, on the representations of the English League. One Dr. Jetha Nand, of Multan City, who had been prosecuted three times for not having his child vaccinated, and who had for the third conviction served a term of imprisonment, was threatened with a fourth prosecution. The English League induced Members of Parliament to take up the matter, and the India Office was pressed to take action. Letters were also written to the Government of India and to the Punjab Government, and the upshot was that the latter intervened and prevented the fourth prosecution taking place. This may be regarded as the first victory in the anti-vaccination campaign in India.

Interesting details of the possibility of communicating leprosy in India by means of vaccination were contained in a book issued a few months ago, *viz* "Roughing it in Southern India" by Mrs. Handley. "At one time" says, Mrs. Handley, "when small-pox was especially virulent.....orders were issued by the Government that everyone should be vaccinated.....there was a strong prejudice against vaccination..... A letter in English from a native forest subordinate.....described the method about to be used. He wrote that they intended to 'persuade by force'; and I don't doubt that by means of it many a struggling wretch was dragged to the operating station against his will..... We were assured that all precautions had been taken, and that the vaccine was of the purest, for the children and calves from which it was procured had been under medical observation ..... All that we had to take on trust." Just as the operation were about to be commenced" a totally unexpected interruption now occurred .... a couple of horsemen showed themselves tearing up the hill, frantically waving papers in their right hands." They arrived "in time to stop the vaccination ..... It had been discovered that the vaccine lymph about to be used had come from the most leprous village in Southern India!" Mrs. Handley's account simply confirms what anti-vaccinists have all along been urging. Nearly twenty years ago Mr. W. Tebb wrote in his Recrudescence of Leprosy, as follows:—"An uneasy feeling is beginning to be exhibited in India on this momentous subject, owing, to the accumulation of evidence tending to show the sinister connection between the extension of the State provided remedy against small pox and leprosy. The synchronicity between the spread of leprosy and the extension of vaccination has given rise, in some districts, to such a dread of vaccination, that every device is resorted to by thoughtful parents to prevent their children being vaccinated." *The Statesman*, of Calcutta, August 22nd, 1891, commenting upon the "Resolution on the Statistical Returns of Vaccination in Bengal for 1890-1," observes: "It has been stated that one of the greatest objections to vaccination among the natives of India and other Oriental peoples, is that diseases such as leprosy, and other terrible blood diseases, have been innoculated with the vaccine virus." And in a subsequent issue the same journal refers to the dangers of leprous vaccination in these terms: "There seems to be no possible room for doubting the reality of

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the very grave danger to which attention is drawn ..... It is notorious that inoculation, that is, the direct introduction of the virus into the blood, is the chief if not the sole means, by which leprosy is communicated."

Government reports fully bear out the above non-official statements. In the Triennial Report on Vaccination in the Central Provinces for 1908-11 we read:—"There is no doubt that the supply of a really pure lymph of standard strength cannot be secured under the present system, and the increased cost of a central depot would probably be worth incurring if it did away with the risk of septic lymph being used." The compiler of the Triennial Report on Vaccination in Eastern Bengal and Assam for 1908-11 writes :—"An unusual number of complaints were received from the districts in the early part of the season about the quality of the vaccine. They were by no means universal, and the cause of the trouble was not obvious, as the origin and history of every specimen of vaccine are carefully recorded, and samples of it are treated on children before despatch to the plains."

In view of the scientific commission sent out to study foot-and-mouth disease in India, extracts from official reports, showing the possibility of spreading foot-and mouth disease by means of vaccine establishments were sent to the English Board of Agriculture. Strangely enough, the Board refused to agree to the suggestion that the commission should visit the vaccine establishments, though year after year the occurrence of foot-and-mouth disease, rinderpest, and other cattle diseases had been reported at these places. To give only one instance, The Triennial Report on Vaccination in Burma for 1908-11, contains the following startling information :—"The Depot has unfortunately suffered severe loss in calves during the triennium from Haemorrhagic Septicaemia and Rinderpest. Eighty-eight calves died in 1910-11 and 150 in 1909-10."

The failure of vaccination to prevent small-pox was once more demonstrated by the experience of the Haj pilgrims. Owing to overcrowding, dirt and privation, small-pox has always been prevalent amongst these people, and the Government decided to institute compulsory vaccination amongst them. The official report for the past year shows that small-pox was again rife, the sufferers being mostly amongst the vaccinated. It appears that 31 cases of small-pox took place among the pilgrims. Of these 28 were amongst the vaccinated, and only three amongst the unvaccinated. Again of the nine deaths that took place, seven occurred among the vaccinated, and only one among the unvaccinated, the vaccinal condition of the remaining one being unknown.

That there is still much to be done in India before we can hope to exterminate disease like small-pox, plague, and cholera, is shown by the fact that a large number of corpses and carcasses have been observed floating in the Hooghly. If the most elementary rules for the preservation of health were observed, this could not happen. If instead of wasting its resources on the enforcement of a useless superstition like vaccination, Government were to devote its energies to the spreading of the knowledge of Nature's laws and penalties amongst the people, in years to come we should see better results.

Government Reports continue to indicate considerable opposition to vaccination in many parts of India, but at present, the Government of India refuses to consider the suggestion of the introduction of a Conscience Clause, after the English pattern. That there is, however, a steadily-increasing volume of feeling against compulsory

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vaccination' is quite evident; and an encouraging feature of the situation is the growing number of the educated classes who are investigating the subject. Only last year, the Sanitary Commissioner for the Central Provinces reported: "these people.....preserve the same attitude towards vaccination and *are quite prepared to enforce their objections by violence.*" And in the last Triennial Report on Vaccination in Eastern Bengal and Assam, we are told:—"There was considerable opposition to vaccination among the Muhammadan weavers.....and among the Ferazi Muhammadans." Burma sounds a similar note. "In Magwe and Henzada vaccination is unpopular." Again, "in Tharrawaddy and Amherst several villages show a hostile attitude towards the vaccination operation." These are only a few out of numerous references to opposition. The disinclination of the educated classes is evidenced by the fact that large numbers of Cards, protesting against compulsory vaccination, sent out from here, were returned duly signed from all parts of India. In many cases, the signature was accompanied with a request for more Cards. The chief difficulty anti-vaccinists have to contend with is respect for "authority" and so-called "science." It is quite natural that Indian students should accept the teaching of the orthodox medical and scientific world on this subject, as long as they have no other side of the matter put before them, but when they realise that it is really a statistical question, and that experience is the only reliable guide, I believe they will investigate the question for themselves.

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MASS EDUCATION.

By Mr. K. S. VENKATRAMANI.

IT is an elementary principle of abiding value worthy of the attention of a statesman as well as a thinker that the achievements of a nation are precisely in proportion to its moral purity and mental elevation. Mass education has no high claims on intellect or imagination, has no pretentious quarters on the heights of Paronassus. It aims humbly at the production of useful units of society—honest citizens of well bred contentment and of a rough-hewn hence strong sense of duty, practical though less poetic Omar Khayyams who can heartily respond to the generous bounties of nature. It is simple in scheme and intensely utilitarian in application. Its function is to produce men who can intelligently appreciate their life and its surroundings. Mass education is thus an essential condition for the growth and progress of a race and a necessary element in the evolution of a better and higher state of existence. The tone of national life rests much on the general culture of the masses.

The recognition of the value of mass education in a nation's career has led almost all the European countries to educate their people and has stirred even unprogressive Russia from the polar slumbers of ages. The great honour of world's leadership at least in times of peace is entrusted to the most cultured country. After all, the biggest battalions can do nothing if the soldier does not possess the more ennobling and consequently the more stubborn patriotism which education alone imparts. Only an intelligent love of motherland produces the epical and the enduring variety of heroism. So, the real strength or greatness of nation is to be found not in the drill and discipline of its countless regiments but in its enlightened condition. Even the mere rudiments of education are enough to give a fair measure of mental happiness and comfort to a life otherwise in no way superior to that of the bullock at the Persian wheel. It is sad, indeed very sad for man, "the roof and crown of things" to depend on God's good thumb for intellectual expression through any artistic means.

Education is efficiency and efficiency is the secret of success. Knowledge is power and a power to combat with evil. Life in its arduous up-hill ascent, is beset with many difficulties and man may fall an easy prey any moment to temptations if ignorance is to beguile his decisions or coarsen his tastes. Education supplies the armour and the shield for the battles of life and if a life

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of use and distinction is to be run, no combative muscular energy however powerful can ever compensate for the want of these defensive trappings. Knowledge alone provides you with the staff with which you can sound the perils and pit-falls of your polar pathways. Knowledge is Davy's Safety Lamp in the unknown vicious coal-pits of human life. It is the rudder and the compass, in the unchartered unfathomed ocean which ill receives your frail boat and bending oars. It is a column of smoke during day, a pillar of fire during night in the labyrinthine maze of human life.

The simple capacity to feel and enjoy the rude grandeurs of life comes in only with illumination of the first rosy streaks of culture. Ignorance raises a sand-cloud which cuts from the vision the panorama of nature's enthralling attractions behind. The real conception of the nobility of life, the greatness of its mission, the reward of its struggles, creeps in only when the receptive powers of the mind don't lie fallow. The illiterate man in the field who toils for his daily bread is a crazy victim to a thousand superstitions born of mental twilight. He can have no idea of duty, no comprehension of the extent of creation, no realisation of the wonders of nature, none of the primal feelings of joy and reverence. The knowledge of his village sums up his geography, the motionless idol at the foot of the banyan tree, the boundless philosophy of life. His spiritual vision is circumscribed by the four walls of his narrow temple. To his rustic mind sanitation is the soapy riddle of fastidious faddists. He can never creep out of his pond to survey the ocean beyond.

To keep in this condition is evidently an injustice of society especially so when it can realise what an amount of joy an altered condition will bring in for him. To him, education means a new state of existence, a transmission from obscurity to glory, from captivity to freedom, from humiliation to self-respect, from darkness to light, from pain to pleasure. His benumbed limbs will receive with joy and gratitude the thawing warmth of education.

Ignorance is a heavy clog, the removal of which gives always a joyous spring to the machinery of human society. Mass education gives a conscious sense of self-respect to the people. It better equips man to discharge his duties. It gives him greater efficiency for isolated work as well as co-operative business. There is a touch of grateful refinement and gracious solidarity in all that he does and feels. Education elevates his thoughts, broadens his sentiments, introduces a better and more scientific standard of living and suffuses daily life with a keener and more rapturous enjoyment.

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NEW LIGHT ON HISTORY.

By Mr. A. J. WILSON.

"As the ocean water is unfit to drink until it is given back to us by the cloud, so the real meaning of the scriptures cannot be understood by us until explained by a living Guru."—*The Thirak Kilatha Padiyar.*

IT has been wisely said that if the inner and outer past of one man were thoroughly known, his future also could be predicted; and the same would hold good of nations. The difficulty is to know that past. We microscopically examine the particles of the man and laboriously decipher the old records of the nations, but at the rate of our present advance—quickened though scientific research is just now—our world will have grown hoary before our remote descendents will have solved the problem.

Yet history has ever a great charm for the student of human nature. Its romance thrills us as heroic figures loom grandly through the mists of ages; reverence inspires us as we tread the courts of temples that were consecrated in dim antiquity to the worship of the same great being whom the nations call upon with other names to-day; fear of the misuse of personal power chills us as we gather together stories of the tyranny of a man or of a creed. Yet Hope—that messenger of God—ever inspires us with the idea that in a study of the ways of past nations and individuals and of the results of those ways, we may perchance, come across a clue that carefully followed will furnish us with hints for the better guidance of affairs in the present.

How many of us frankly realize that the most erudite and patient historian of our time is but presenting us with isolated, and often doubtful, scraps woven together by the imagination of many writers into a connected whole, and only resembling the truth as much as the picture puzzle put together by a child (who has lost three quarters of the pieces) resembles the original picture? Yet how important is it that our data shall be accurate and complete, if we would make true deductions.

How then are remote events recorded and preserved?

As we all know, the ways generally recognised are: (*a*) verbal tradition, from mouth to ear through generation after generation, from misty antiquity right down to our own time; and (*b*) inscriptions, whether in the form of ancient manuscripts or modern books, or engraved or painted on rocks, or in words or pictures.

Allied to these are the remains of human industries and arts, as in the very ancient tombs of Egypt, or in the sand covered cities of Messapotamia or Kurdisthan and other now desert countries. Still more ancient and universal are the records of the earth itself with its various strata, each with its

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trace of peculiar forms of life, like a book of natural history, with pages of dried specimens, awaiting the learned reader to decipher. While over and beyond all stretch the heavens with their ordered movements of stars and planets and comets ; all ready for the time when the mind of man shall have grown and evolved sufficiently to understand their records and laws.

The traditions of the time in which the historian lives, and his personal environment, have a certain bias which affect his recording powers, a bias which he will pass on to all who read his books. It is this personal colouring however unconscious, that gradually distorts events and is such a serious source of error. A man who could see an event as it occurred and then read a description of it written some five hundred years later would probably find this point very emphatically proven. We have but to recall "Confidences" a game that many of us have played in our youth, and which so well illustrates a certain tendency of human nature that it is worth while to play at now and then, however old we may be and however learned.

The young people sit in a circle and one reads into his neighbours ear, so that no one else can hear, some short story with one or two thrilling incidents in it. The neighbour repeats the tale in his turn, in the same way to the one on his other side ; and so it is passed on from mouth to ear round the circle. Finally the last to hear the story repeats it aloud and the original story is told to all. The changes in transmission are often remarkable.

An historical illustration of the influence of environment we find in the story of the same event related in diverse countries. The doings in China as described by Chinese and by Englishmen ; in Tibet by Tibetans and Chinese, the wars of Napoleon as recorded in France and in Russia, the life of Ignatius Lyola by his followers and by his detractors. Even the history of Shri Krishna by Hindus and by Christians, and of the Lord Jesus by Christians and by Hebrews. Quite a short course of such studies is enough to generate an agnostic spirit, and only if it is our business to preserve a certain tradition, can we continue heartily to maintain the absolute verity of any one historical record. As schoolmasters and professors we may teach the accepted tradition of our country to our pupils to enable them to pass examinations and take degrees ; as teachers of religion we may propound the alleged facts which support the cult by which we live; but as thoughtful men we realize that we are probably expounding the reflections of events in the minds of men, and by no means teaching of the events exactly as they occurred at the time.

We find thus that we require two factors to ensure a correct rendering of history. Firstly, an absolutely true record. Secondly, unbiased and skilled readers and recorders of that record.

That the great storehouse of Nature contains such a record there is evidence for the earnest and untiring seeker and the power of reading those records without bias is a matter of training and evolution.

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The modern theory of evolution carries us back through the animal stage to the animal and mineral; the line of research I wish to indicate to you goes forward as well as backwards and shows men evolving from the prison house of the body with its senses to the broader outlook and immense powers of divine heroes. Once convinced of the logical sequence of evolution from the animal kingdom to the human, and from the human to the divine, a man instinctively enquires, what is the quickest way to evolve ? Each man who asks this question, determined to get an answer at all costs, is not left helpless. Life opens out before him just in proportion to the strenuous hope in his enquiry and his unselfish outlook on life. For the ordinary man ignorant of what evolution means but enquiring, we can but point to the teaching given within the Theosophical Society, (though by no means obligatory for its members to study, even if the large proportion of its members do so, more or less.) The sequence of teaching is logical, from *Esoteric Buddhism* and the *Secret Doctrine* in the last century to the *Pedigree of Man*, *The Inner Life* and *At The Feet Of The Master* in this century. We have a steady stream of literature explaining the evolution of our globe and of man, given to the world by pupils as they learn more and more from their Teachers. As the pupils advance they can give the ideas more clearly to the world, and to-day we are on the eve of the publication of a remarkable book, "*Man Whence How and Whither*," which marks the high tide of historical research along this particular line of scientific work at the present time.

It is well to have in mind from the first that, in this science as in all others, *an act of faith* spans the gulf between the theorising student and the practical scientific man. Even in learning to swim a man must take his feet from earth and trust to the water before he can swim, and in the laboratory the student must put down his book of rules and begin to make original researches before he can become a professor, and so in the science of life a man must pass from theory to realization by an act of faith. That once done he can go back and forth and verify at will. But many only dabble on the brink, doubt their teachers and, afraid themselves to take the plunge, are inclined to scoff at all whom they see crossing the deeper waters, crying out that they are fools (if not knaves) supported on bladders that will burst at a prick from any pin. Those who have begun to swim, if only for a few minutes, can afford to be laughed at, for a new field of experiment opens before them. Evolution leads us through faith to verification.

When the existence of true guides to the ancient way, from manhood to divine manhood, with the "eye of Shiva" open, becomes a certain fact to us, and each man gets the certainty in his own manner, we read the orthodox history of our period, not as a record of every exact facts, but as a treasure house of suggestive indications of possibly fruitful fields of real research. The Elusynian Mysteries become schools of preparatory Yoga; modern Freemasons grieve over the lost key to real knowledge obscured during the dark ages; the Sapta Bai probably indicate the same hidden line of research; the Churches carefully guard shreds of the wisdom and the ancient monasteries and

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maths originally tried to prepare men to lead the life; in Buddhist literature we find it taken for granted; in Hinduism it has its revered place and has sanctified the relationship of *guru* and *chela* right down to these degenerate, but hopeful days; *Vedas and Puranas* become mines of valuable ore, hidden under the accumulated dust of the ages through which they have been preserved; while the founder of the Theosophical Society who taught a few promising pupils, had the duty imposed upon her by her own great Eastern Teacher, of gradually re-explaining to the modern world the existence of the ancient way, and how to tread it, in preparation for a new cycle of forward impulse when, in the near future, a great Teacher lives amongst us once more.

The power of reading Nature's records of past history is only entrusted to men who have been tried and tested, and who have passed such initions as shall eliminate personal and racial bias and enable them to see things as they are, and not as they, or others, desire them to be. The observations are published only so far as they can help men to lead nobler, broader lives. Many cherished legends which have woven themselves into the fabric of modern history must, as we have agreed, be modified by such clear seeing, and unless the men of the time are willing to lose the decaying false in order to gain the lasting true, an opportunity, unique at present, of swift evolution will have been neglected.

To enable us to judge for ourselves some of the results of the methods thus briefly hinted at above we would advice our readers to study *Rents in the Veil of Time*s given in the *Theosophist* for 1910-1911, and also when it appears, *Man: How, Whence and Whither ?* by Mrs. Annie Besant.

Although the object for which *Rents* was written was biographical rather than the wider historical, we yet catch glimpses in them of events in historical times and are thus led back into periods that are too remote to verify in any ordinary way.

The history of the Aryan Race, for instance, as revealed by this trained research, becomes luminous, and of absorbing interest. From its nursery on the shores of a Central Asian Sea, we have tribe after tribe traced as it wanders out in orderly succession, under the guidance and care of the Manu Vivasvatha, Europe is overrun (in the recorded *Volker wanderungs* we seem to have a glimpse of a few small wavelets of the ebbing tide when the big migrations were practically over). Down through the passes of the Himalayas poured the hosts of the virile, conquering, joyous men of that self-same Aryan stock : gradually they conquered and absorbed the older race then inhabiting the Indian peninsular. With them they brought their own bright Gods—divine Leaders and Deva hosts and gradually they spread over the land. How slow the process was we can realize better by looking over the world to-day ; the Aryan stock is still a minority in the population.

Within the last few hundred years we have seen a further migration, on to the mainlands of America, Australia and Africa and the process of specialising and combining into new subraces still goes on. History is a fascinating study in this new light, and will require re-writing as time goes on. Superstitions will fade away before a trained scrutiny of causes. Faith is lost in sight as we evolve.

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THE YOUNG LAWYER.

By Mr. RAKHAL RAJ DE.

THE profession of law, says Burke, is the noblest of professions. It is also called a learned calling. What is said with regard to this profession is incontestably true. No praise can be too high for it. It is this profession which gives judges, ministers, statesmen, politicians, and patriots. From this profession the aristocracy of a country derives the greatest part of its recruitment. To this profession resort the people for help and advice in every case of difficulty ; and to it they look for the defence of their rights and for obtaining the redress of their wrongs. It is the seminary for the cultivation and development of all those virtues which make man man ; it is the depository of knowledge, wisdom and wits. It is therefore no wonder that the profession is universally held in high esteem and reverence.

As this profession is the noblest and most dignified in its nature, so it is the most lucrative and widest in its prospects. It affords a field without limit or end. Those who are in it cannot complain that a chance of distinguishing themselves and of making a fortune and name is small and uncertain. The chance it holds out is largest and surest. Even those who prove most unfortunate in the pursuit after wealth and fame and possess the poorest abilities are at least sure of an independence and competency. I have never seen a member of it indigent and wretched. Riches, stately mansions, rich furniture, gilded coaches and two, motors, liveried servants, titles, honour, reputation, solicits the acceptance of its professors. The wildest dreams of the ambitions can be realised. One can easily, if he can play the excellent cards in his hands well, rise from the lowest abyss of miseries to opulence and from obscurity to eminence : he can mount the bench from a pettifogging position. What other profession, I ask, offers such an extensive prospect and so ample an opportunity.

If any one imagines that here the road to wealth is short, easy and smooth, he is sadly mistaken ; but unfortunately such a delusion has taken possession of many minds. The road is extremely long, difficult and rough. A traveller in this road has to trudge on many weary days and nights ; through pathless deserts and forests ; he has to encounter a thousand obstacles, dangers, disappointments and mortifications. Here lies the deep slough of despair. Not a few are seen to abandon the journey after having set out on it in big spirits. In order to perform the journey successfully, an extraordinary fund of patience, vigour, strength, steadiness, perseverance and fortitude of mind are required ; honesty, integrity, affability of disposition, agreeable manners, cool temper, judgment, discretion, and presence of mind are not less necessary. He who is not fortified by these qualities is not fit for the journey ; he meets with a disaster. At the outset of the career bitter presents itself. The cup of bitter is first served up, and that of sweets afterwards. The sweets cannot be enjoyed without draining the cup of the bitter to the dregs. It is the law of nature that where there are the largest sweets there are the greatest bitter ; and the sweets are never given until the bitter is taken. But many come into this profession only to seize hold of all the sweets that it is capable of yielding, without tasting their adequate share of the bitter.

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The notion that, as soon as a man becomes a lawyer he comes into possession of the purse of fortunes, enabling him to keep a coach and two and to live in a palatial house, surrounded by luxury and pomp of every kind, has given rise to the prevailing passion for studying law, no matter whether he is physically and morally fit for it or not. All that a young man has to do is to pass the law examination, and a large fortune is assured to him. Under the influence of such a belief every young man, even from his very first appearance in the world, is designed for the bar ; every one is eager to practise law. This rage has already transcended all bounds, no eagerness to buy a share in the South Sea bubble was greater. As soon as a young man takes his degree, he is precipitated into a Law College ; no other business, or trade or industry is thought of. His father or guardian parts with all he possesses, even his very substance, not sparing his hearth and home, to convert his son or ward into a mine of gold. I do not wonder so much at this as at the fact that the eyes of people are not as yet opened to their folly. God knows when the spell will be broken.

The examination is got through ; and we have a lawyer vested with every right and privilege, and furnished with permission to enter upon practice. His robe is bought ; he puts it on, and under an auspicious moment, goes to Court in high glee and with swelling hopes to reach in no time the promised land in immediate view, totally ignorant of the fiery ordeal which awaits him. But what does he find ? He finds himself, as fallen from the skies, a stranger in a strange land. Nobody knows him ; and he knows nobody. He finds the bar overcrowded, even to suffocation ; there is no room for him even to stand. He receives no welcome from his brother lawyers ; they do not favour him even with a look. They do not speak to him nor does he dare address himself to them. If any of them be so kind as to notice him and to speak to him, he speaks words of discouragement. He says, "Sir, why have you come here ? Nothing, nothing. We starve." It is the nature of trade to be jealous. It cannot bear a rival. If a rival appears, all sorts of discouragenent are thrown in his path. The bar has not the privilege of being free from a taint of jealousy.

Another difficulty which he has not anticipated presents itself. This is, that he has had only book knowledge ; practical knowledge he has none. He knows not how to submit or how to conduct a case ; he knows not how to write a plaint, or to draw up a petition or to arrange a case. He wants some teaching. But who will give him that lesson ? A senior pleader, who is in considerable practice, can be his tutor. But where to find him ? Every senior pleader has got a son, or a son-in-law or brother-in-law or nephew. His hands are tied up from doing acts of kindness or charity. Who is so liberal in this world of ours as to sacrifice a tithe of his intrest to befriend the friendless ? In this *Kaliyuga* to do good is a sin. Hence it taxes the energies of our young lawyer to the utmost to overcome that difficulty, to remedy a defect in order to be somewhat of a practical lawyer. For this defect he is not to blame. The blame is at the doors of the University. The University ought not to have been contented with making him a mere book-knowledge lawyer, when she is well aware that the moment he is out he will have to earn his bread. She ought to have provided a regular course of practice training. In this respect she greatly sins ; the fruit of which is that we have a lawyer by halves. It is time she should try to get rid of this sin.

However, our young lawyer goes to court and comes back home, as regularly and punctually as the sun ; this he does for a number of years ; not a single pice,

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even by mistake, has found its way into his pocket. Every day he returns home with an empty pocket, with depression of spirits, in ill humour, but with ferocious wolf in the belly. How long can he go on at this rate? How long can he hold out? The family depends on his earning; all its means are already gone in his education. It is said that man lives on hope. But it is at best a poor defence against an attack of want. Want has now stormed the citadel of hope and has begun to make its sharp sting felt. There is the cruel god, belly, to be served. He must have his tribute paid in time. He cannot be prevailed upon to remit it, ne takes no denial nor putting off. Neither prayers nor entreaties nor tears can make any impression on his adamantine heart. He does not listen to any petition nor to any appeal. He does not yield to the clamour of an agitation; he makes no concession. He sends a man to jail; he brings a man to the gallows. Our lawyer has to deal with such a severe god. He is driven to extremity. All his brightest dreams of life have vanished; the magnificent castles which his family so laboriously built have been demolished. And with the demolition of the castles love and affection has fled. Reproaches now assail him on every side. He, being thus hard pressed, begins to rail at the world, to rail at government, and to rail at English education. In such a case a man never attributes his misfortune to his own folly and indiscretion, but he throws the blame on the shoulders of those who have not the least hand in what he suffers. What follows afterwards, I need not say. Such, in truth, is the plight which a young lawyer finds himself reduced to.

This plight arises from want of discretion on the part of a parent or guardian in the choice of a profession. It is a grievous and fatal mistake to suppose that to pass the examination is to be a lawyer, or that every one can shine at the bar. Certain other qualities, which every youth cannot be expected to be endowed with, are essential to success at the bar. The genius of a boy should be consulted both with regard to his education and to the selection of a way of life he should walk. But this is not done. Fashion is blindly followed and slavishly worshipped On this rock are the prospects of many a youth being daily spilt. Give the boy what nature marks him out for, and he is sure to prosper; but to force him into a soil which is not adapted or foreign to its nature is to expose him to a certain risk of withering. The practice of law also cannot be recommended for those whose family wants and needs are urgent and pressing. For such people to betake themselves to the profession of law is not a less grievous error. If these two mistakes be avoided, the bar will no doubt be much relieved of its present congestion.

The present cry is that the bar is overcrowded; and that lawyers starve at the trade. It is popularly believed that legal aid can be had for a four anna piece. This is no doubt true. There are many who will accept a brief accompanied by the paltry remuneration of a four anna piece. This is a reproach on the bar that should be wiped out; but it is deepening day by day. This state of things need cause us no surprise when we consider the principle of supply and demand. This principle has been entirely upset. At present the verge of supply has overflowed the banks of demand. As the market is overstocked, the price has consequently gone and is going down; and the thing goes a begging. To make the matter far worse, the Calcutta University is yielding two bumper harvests yearly when formerly there had been but one.

In order to make the supply keep pace with the demand, it is necessary that Law Courts should expand, and the expansion of Law Courts means a corresponding growth in the tendency of people to litigation and crime. To meet the present

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demand it is necessary that people should be a thousand times more litigious and criminal than they now are. This would be a remedy worse than the disease. At the same time the present state of things cannot any longer be suffered to continue.

What is to be done now ? This is a question that at present suggests itself to many minds. The problem is both for the Government and the Bar to solve. Government has every right to regulate the supply and to put it on a par with the demand. It is the duty of Government to check every irregularity and excess wherever it manifests itself. The honour, prestige, interest and reputation of the bar are at stake so they should join their hands with Government in finding out and applying a remedy to the evil. Is it not better that a few should be happy and comfortable than all should starve, and be wretched and miserable ? I mean that a certain limit should be set to the number of lawyers practising in every court ; and that some test other than a certificate should be established.

I believe the suggestion I venture to throw out is not so absurd nor is it the offspring of deranged intellect or of wounded pride. Everything has its limit. God's universe and operations of nature are governed by the law of limits. It is limit that makes a thing beautiful, efficient and beneficent. Every school and college admit a limited number of students. Every religous and charitable institutions observe a certain limit. Every Association or Club receives a limited number of members. Government has conceded to us freedom of speech and freedom of writing ; but this concession is not without a limit. Where there is no limit there arises excess and license. Why should our law courts be given up to this license and excess by allowing them to be an exception to the general rule It would therefore be proper, just and wise to subject them to the law of limit to the reception of practising lawyers.

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"SCIENCE AND INDIAN NATIONALISM" LAST WORDS.

By Capt. OWEN BERKLEY HILL, I. M. S.

IT is not due to any want of a healthy scepticism as to the value of my own opinion that I venture on a reply to the comments of "An Indian" on my article in the "Hindustan Review" for December last, but because I wish to express my appreciation of the courteous way he has delivered himself of his admonitions. The kindly tone of this writer is made all the more emphatic when compared with that of the reviewer of the *Punjabee*. It is evident that the latter has not learnt that science is characterised solely by its method and not by its material and is therefore applicable to the whole field of human experience so that "the Gita reading and Ramayana-worshipping" communities are as dependent upon it for help in checking the ideals and convictions as the rest of the world. I have never until now heard science called "a gun and bullet basis" but I can commiserate with anyone who has met with this misfortune. However, let him derive consolation from the news that such a pseudonym for science is as malapropos as it is foolish.

But I would rather turn to my more generous, and evidently more learned commentator and request him to consider whether or not he has not misunderstood my meaning in one or two instances. He charges me with demanding that the Hindu mind be made "tabula rasa." Heaven forbid that I should ever make such a proposal, I would only wish to see some of the "cock suredness" which is so often distinctive of the attitude of more educated Indians in regard to the practical value of their ancient precepts (not to mention their modern prejudices) modified by a healthy scepticism.

Like my commentator in the "*Punjabee*" he too seems to fancy that science connotes pure materialism. If he will refer to the works of Clerk-Maxwell, Ostwald, Mach, or Karl-Pearson he will see that this is by no means the case. The business of science is to classify phenomena into sequences and then to find some general law which will enable us to resume these sequences in a short and convenient formula—Science involves a search for truth for truth's sake. Surely this conception of science is not so antipathetic to the Hindu mind that that mind must first be made "tabula rasa"

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before any scientific conception can reach it? No, I merely wished to emphasise the fact that the more evidently physical and metaphysical speculations are reposed to common sense the more favour do they find with some Hindu thinkers.

I venture to disagree with "An Indian" when he says that had the well ordered progression of Hindu enfoldment by means of Ashrams been kept in view no such question as that discussed by me could have arisen. As I understand the Ashrams I perceive that at least two of them the (Vanaprastha and Sannyasi) involve abnegation of the experiences of life by insisting on retirement from the world and the practice of meditation. Now this practice no doubt is one of immense practical value for it must (or should) lead to the removal from public life of all men over middle age (doubtless, "a consummation devoutly to be wished")—but one can hardly suppose that this precept was enunciated with this sole object in view, for to suppose such a thing is to end on its author with an almost superhuman allowance of humour! Nay, one can only see in this another aspect of the most basic element in Hindu ethics *viz*: the worthlessness of this life as compared with that of the life to come.

With what object in view the doctrine of the unreality of the physical world was or was not devised it is impossible to say but it cannot, I maintain, be denied that it must have played a significant rôle in the lives of those who adhere to and believe in it. For 3,000 years the Hindu has so stereotyped his society and so completely given himself over to the reproduction of the same ideas that he has made no new conquest over nature, carried science no higher, developed no new fructifying social ideas, invented no new scheme of life. He has never conceived of woman except as the pleasantest and most necessary of slaves nor has he developed any idea of pity.

"An Indian" almost indignantly repudiates my statement that Fatalism is an essential conception in Hindu tradition, saying, "Fatalism has no part in the Hindu creed," and, "the falsity of idea is patent to even a casual observer" May I ask him then what is his interpretation of the LXth 'NIKI SLOKA? (Dubois' *Hindu Manners and Customs*). What, if not the ever present sense of predestination, makes a Hindu say: "What is written on the forehead must be fulfilled."

I feel greatly grieved that "An Indian" can suppose from reading my article that I wrote tauntingly. For one who is acutely sensitive to the appalling superstitions and the tremendous conceits indulged in by his own community, it ought to be impossible for him to even think of taunting (which is a very different thing from criticising) the tenets of another. The last thing that one wants to be told is that the pot should not call the kettle black. This particular pot can, it trusts, now and then find a white (or at least a grey) spot or two, the existence of which, it would like to maintain, is due to a fairly rigorous scientific training.

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THE
Hindustan Review

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."*

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

THE RENAISSANCE IN INDIA.*

MR. C. F. Andrews, of Delhi is well-known to the readers of Indian Magazines as a sympathetic observer and kindly critic of the life of modern India, and its many and interesting problems. He has written often, and has always written well about the many-sided activity of the educated class, and his writing always shows not only a sound grasp of the difficulties and reqnirements of the situation, but a genuine and graceful recognition of the efforts which are being made by our countrymen to meet it. Mr. Andrews, is one of those few Europeans who did not allow their vision to be blurred even during the darkness of the bomb outrages, and who had the courage and the insight to realize the meaning of the struggle, even while the struggle had assumed an ugly shape. He never hesitates for one moment to tell us what our defects are, but his writing had nothing of the intolerable *hauteur*, the insolent patronizing air, the "you—Native—Pagan" style which disfigures so much the writing even of the average *padre*. As he himself remarks in this very book, "the spirit of independence among educated Indians has now become a settled fact, and the critic who adopts such a style at once puts himself out of court. Mr. Andrews never flatters but he also never insults. He writes about us, in praise or in blame, as he would write about his own countrymen. And that is the secret of his success. That is why his praise is valued and his criticism appreciated and pondered over.

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*The Renaissance in India. By C. F. Andrews. (Kangri Collection, Harbutt's, London.) 1912.

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The book under review, as its sub-title indicates, has been written from the missionary stand-point for the missionaries, and its object is "to win sympathy and affection of the educated classes of India in their struggle forward." There is much in this book with which we are in hearty agreement. The description of Indian Unrest, the account of the growth of Hinduism, and the appreciation of Indian womanhood, might have been written, almost as they are, by an Indian thinker of the Reform School. We cannot resist the temptation of giving a few extracts below to let our readers judge for themselves. This is what Mr. Andrews says of the place of the middle Classes in the new movement.

"The age is full of restless energy and unsettlement of thought. One reconstructive idea after another is taken up, only to be abandoned. Each year since 1904 has been crammed with changes and excitements, with new programmes, and fresh outbursts of enthusiasm.... It is indeed difficult to keep pace with the progress of events. In all this there is undoubtedly a weakness, for it betokens a lack of thoroughness; but, on the other hand, there is evidence of fresh and vigorous life. Indeed, the buoyant optimism of the educated classes is carrying them forward over difficulties which they would not have otherwise surmounted. The onlooker from the west is reminded of the picture of the rising middle class in Victorian England drawn by Thackeray. There is the same confidence in themselves and in their own capacity for progress, the same tendency to form an exaggerated estimate of their own importance, yet in the case of educated Indians the estimate may not be wrong after all; for the destiny of the country is clearly in their hands, and the advance they have made in modern methods, when compared with that achieved by their uneducated fellow-countrymen, is enormous. Indeed the rapidity of their progress is the standing wonder of the age. In Bombay and Calcutta, and in almost every Indian centre, a circle of advanced thinkers and workers may be found with whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to converse on subjects covering the widest range of thought and life. They are the men who will mould the future,—men of character as well as intellect, men who have surmounted difficulties such as we ourselves have never experienced. Sometimes we feel that they are too Westernized, too doctrinaire, too much out of touch with their own people; yet now that the spirit of nationality has fired them with new hopes, they are taking greater pride in their own country than before and working on indegenous lines of advance. The danger of Europeanization is not so great as it was a generation ago, and it will be still less in the near future."

Here is another extract, the picture of the "Conversion" of a young educated Indian.

"As an example of the new earnestness which is springing up in the rising generation I would give the story of a young Hindu student as it was narrated to me by himself. He had been educated in a Mission School and College, where he had been brought under powerful Christian influences and imbibed a passion for the new Western learning; but up to the age of twenty his life was selfish and worldly. His thoughts and ambitions had centred in his family and in his caste. He had very rarely looked beyond these towards India as a whole. Then came the great Russo-Japanese war which set him thinking. He began to have a wider outlook. Day after day the news of fresh victories came from the far east. At last he read of the complete overthrow of the Russian

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fleet in the Straits of Tsushima. That night, he told me, he was quite unable to sleep. The vision of his own country came to him in an almost objective form. She seemed to rise in front of him like a sad and desolate mother, claiming his love. The face which he saw was very beautiful, but indescribably sorrowful. It was so real to him that for months afterwards he could shut his eyes and recall it as vividly as on its first appearance. What happened to him, as far as one could judge from his story, was something analogous to the experience described in religious language as conversion. With overwhelming force he heard the call to give himself up for his motherland. He could think of nothing else. Night and day the vision was before him. He determined to put himself to the test, and the test was a significant one. Hindu as he was, he began to try to win the friendship of Mussalmans and to inspire them with his new ideals; for he grasped at once the salient fact that a United India must mean a union between the two great sections of the population. He met with constant rebuffs, but persisted, and won his way. Then other difficulties faced him. His father insisted with all the authority of parentage, which is so strong in the east, that he should marry and settle down. A suitable bride was found for him; a comfortable position and a generous allowance was assured. But he resisted all pressure and was content to be banished from home and reduced to poverty, rather than give way and be false to the call which he had received. When I last heard of him he had definitely joined the ranks of the Arya Samaj, and was engaged in administering relief in a famine-stricken district. Shortly before this, I had news of him as a warder in a plague camp where he had fearlessly risked his own life for the good of his fellow-countrymen."

The above picture represents not an individual but a type. It is men of this type which have made modern India possible, men who have dared to renounce all in the true spirit of *vairag*, not the imbecile *vairag* which renounces the world to gain the selfish delights of a passive Nirvana, but the selfless, active, strenuous *vairag* which renounces self in order to serve and uplift his brother.

The extracts that we have given above clearly show the trend of our author's thought and the sympathy and insight with which he approaches the discussion of Indian problems. Our only important disagreement with Mr. Andrews lies in his confident assertion that India is bound to become Christian and is moving nearer and nearer towards Christianity. We are ready to admit that India has much to learn from Europe, as Europe has much to learn from India, and we hope and pray that among other things she may assimilate those Christian virtues which are necessary for her advancement. But that the 300 millions of Indians will change their faith and become Christians, appears to us impossible. The days of mass conversions have gone by, and the power of Christianity as a distinctive and personal faith is weakening even in the West. The life of the Western people is becoming more and more secular every day, and a people who are not themselves intensely, nay fanatically religious, cannot convert another nation. And perhaps even more important than these is the hard stubborn fact, which Mr. Andrews is too wise not to see and too candid not to admit, that the life lived by the Christian people of Europe and the treatment

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meted out by them to the non-European races is anything but inviting. When an Indian Christian says that he had suffered slights harder to bear from those who should have been his brother Christians, than from his relations who ostcasted him, when negroes are lynched in America openly in the light of day, when Indians are treated as worse than Pariahs in British Colonies, when the Christian nations of Europe are behaving towards Turkey, Persia, and China in their day of trial like so many brigands, and when all this is taking place after nineteen hundred years of Christian teaching, how can you hope to attract the people of India to Christianity? Herbert Spencer once wrote that in Europe there were a hundred million's of Pagans masquerading as Christians, and we venture to say that if Jesus Christ were to visit the earth to-day he would find more Christian virtues in an average Hindu than in an average European. Christianity is presented to us in our daily life in the shape of the "Mailed fist" and the "White Man's burden," and whatever the future may have in store for us, the Hindus are not likely to accept the faith of "Blood and Frons." We have stated our difference with Mr. Andrews strongly, because we feel strongly upon this point. But this difference in no way detracts from our appreciation of Mr. Andrews and his book, for writing which we are indeed grateful to him. We strongly recommend it to our readers.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

INDIA UNDER AURANGZEB *

THE rule of Aurangzeb covering practically the history of India for sixty years stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of our country. The reign is marked by the upspringing of the Mahratta nationality out of the ashes of their short-lived Kingship, the appearance of the Sikh Sect in the role of warriors and armed opponents of the ruling power, and the advent of the future lords of our country's destiny who, in this reign, gained a firm and safe footing on its soil, by making Bombay and Madras their presidencies while the foundation of Calcutta, the Whilom Metropolis of India also occurred in the time of this great Moghul King. This reign also revealed the Moghul Empire as rotten at the core, the Government no longer commanded the awe of its subjects, the public servants had lost honesty and efficiency and the great Moghul army, the wonder of foreigners broke down as an instrument of force.

To write out the history of such a momentous period is a herculean task but the author is one who is eminently qualified for it. To the knowledge which he has acquired in his *Alma Mater*, he has added the conditions which he has obtained by his studies in original of the vast treasure in the Oriental

*1. *History of Aurangzeb* vols. I and II (Rs. 3-8 each) 2. *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb* and other Historical Essays Rs. 1-8 each, by Professor J. N. Sarkar, M. A. of The Patna College (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta).

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Public Library "The elysium of bliss on earth," while he has also laid under contribution the interesting accounts of foreigners who lived in the Moghul courts or visited it and whose graphic description give no little clue to the history of that period. A cursory glance at the Bibliography given at the end of the second volume well shows the nature of the studies of the author. First, he mentions the court annuals, which cover the 41 years lying between the accession of Shah Jahan and the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign, these being based on official correspondence, despatches, revenue-returns, &c. The next source *viz.*, the private history which include among others that of Khafi Khan, according to whom "every plan and project Aurangzeb formed came to little good; every enterprise that he undertook was long in execution and failed in the end," contain many personal trait and graphic touches which the more official histories had necessarily to exclude. The author has also utilised professed abridgement and monographs, and among other letters of Aurangzeb of which he himself has collected over three thousand—in itself a gigantic task—and which throw a flood of light on the inner nature of the man. In short so far as authorities are concerned with, he seems to have laid under contribution every possible source and we cannot but too highly congratulate him on this arduous task—a self-implored one and in all probability, a labour of love also—of compiling the history of Aurangzeb based on original sources of the period.

The author has proposed to finish the whole history in five volumes, the first volume commences with the boyhood and the second volume concludes his accession to the throne of Hindustan. The other three volumes besides dealing with the history of the period will give *some* account of the condition of the people, trade, life and manners of the reign of the great Moghul. Without unduly thrusting ourselves on the plans of the learned author, we may say that it would be better for all if instead of favoring us with *some* account of the condition, &c., of the people, he would give detailed accounts of those things, just as he has done so nicely in giving the minutest details of Aurangzeb's life.

The style of the volumes under review, though it leaves something to be desired for a monumental work of this kind, is still good and to quote the words of Mr. Irvine, the well known author of the *later Mughals* is "a judicious compromise between the over-crowded stiffness of my *later Mughals* and mere popular journalist writing." The first five chapters of the book which as the author observes, were amended by Mr. Irvine himself, show more brilliancy of style than the later ones.

There are certain minor blemishes in the two volumes. There is a long list of correction and addition—almost 3 pages which is to be regretted. In the List of Bibliography, the author mentions that he consulted *Ker's Voyages and Travels*, as Hakluyt, Purchas and Coryat were not available at Patna. Really we do not understand this confession, when we take into account that the studious author has consulted not only all the famous Indian Libraries

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but also the Bodleian, British Musuem and even the Bibliotheque Nationale and the Berlin Royal Library. However, these are, as we stated minor blemishes and we mention this only because the book will be an authority on the subject and has been written by a scholar like Professor Sirkar. We anticipate with great pleasure the completion of this history and of some more like this.

The other book *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb and Historical Essays* call for very little remark. Of the 242 pages of this book, the first 137 are a translation of *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Nimchah and which has been fully utilised in the other book while the rest is a collection of articles which the author contributed from time to time in various magazines and which do not show any original research characteristic of Professor Sirkar. In fact, it is to quote the words of Burke applied to Chatham's ministry "here a bit of black stone, there a bit of white, coutiers and republicans.....that it was indeed a good show but utterly unsafe to stand upon." There is, however, a long list of errata,—one full page,—while there is no arrangement of the articles and finally the want of an appendix.

If a second edition of this be called for, the author would do well to revise it carefully and to supply the omission of an index.

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OUR LIBRARY TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

MR. William McCulloch has made a valuable addition to the literature of Indian folk-lore in his *Bengali Household Tales* (Hodder and Stoughton, London). The twenty-eight tales are all well told and fully preserve the spirit and genius of their originals. They will be found very interesting by not only students of folk-lore but even by the general reader. The select bibliography of the subject adds to the value of the book, which we gladly commend to readers.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Ltd. (London) have just published a splendid illustrated edition of the late Rev. Lal Behari Day's classical collection, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*. The book saw the light so far back as 1883 and has been often reprinted since. That it is still popular is evidenced by the present edition which is embellished with thirty-two superb illustrations in colour by Mr. Warwick Goble. Altogether an ideal present to "our boys."

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (London) have brought out a handsome edition of Mr. Kipling's verse but it has omissions which will be regretted by many readers. None of the *Departmental Ditties* are included, nor the smoker's poem beginning "Pass me the old cigar-box," and "Bobs" is missing as a matter of course. This effort was virtually suppressed in deference to Lord Roberts's wishes, so that hence-forth it will survive only in the parody by Mr. T. W. H. Crossland entitled "Kips." The book is beautifully got up and in the next edition—which is sure to to be called for before long—we hope to see the omissions included. In the meantime the *Collected Verse of Rudyard Kipling* should find a place on the book-shelf of every admirer of the poet.

Messrs. Constable & Co. Ltd. (London) have added two volumes to each of their well-known series on "Religions" and "Philosophies." The two added to the former series are *Congregationalism* by Mr. B. A. Millard and *Unitarianism* by Mr. W. G. Tarrant; while the two added to the latter are *Pragmatism* by Mr. D. L. Murray and *Rationalism* by Mr. J. N. Robertson. Each of these volumes is marked by the well-known characteristics of the series to which they belong and attention to which has been drawn by us in the notices of the previous volumes—namely thorough scholarship combined with remarkable lucidity. No better books can be found to instruct the man in the street.

Four excellent translations dealing with the literature of the East or oriental studies have lately made their appearance. Of these the first belongs to a new series to be published by T. Werner Lawrie, Ltd. (Clifford's Inn, London). It will offer a new library of eastern thought and letters and include English translations of the masterpieces of oriental philosophy and literature. The aim is to issue, at a reasonable price, complete, and not merely abridged, translations of such well-known works which have hitherto been accessible to the English reader only in incomplete or else somewhat expensive forms. Except in the case of a few of the longer works, each volume of the series will be complete in itself, and will be provided with an Introduction, and where necessary, notes by Mr. J. M. Kennedy, author of Religions and Philosophies of the East. The first volume is a translation by the editor himself of the well-known *Sankas of Bhartrihari* and it is exceedingly well done.

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The other three books are an excellent translation by Mr. W. Gemmell from the Chinese of *Chin-kang Ching* or the *Diamond Sutra*, "one of the most valued and widely read philosophical works in Buddhist literature" (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. London); a brillant rendering by Mirza Y. Dawud—a Persian —of the poet Nani's *Soz-o-Gudaz*, under the title of *Burning and Melting* (Luzac & Co. London), and a well executed exposition and adaptation into English by Mr. G.K. Nariman from the German of Dr. Tiele (his "Religion of the Iranian Peoples") and the French of Dr. Dadmesteters (his "Persia") and Dr. Goldziher (his "Influence of Persian on Islam"). This collection of essays by three famous European orientalists is most valuable and Mr. Nariman is entitled to great credit both for his scholarship and enterprise. The book can be had of "The Parsi" Publishing Company, Bombay.

Two new editions of useful books are welcome. The first is the second edition of Mr. E.B. Havell's *Agra and the Taj* (Longman's, Green and Co. London). We noticed the first edition, published in 1904, in terms of high appreciation. In the present edition the author has added two appendices, one explaining the grounds for rejecting the theory that the Taj was designed by an Italian architect and the other on Hindu influence in Moghul architecture. These enhance the value of the book. The foot note on p. 124 about Bir Bal's house at Fatehpur Sikri being used as a dak bungalow should have been omitted, as it is no longer so used since Lord Curzon built a fine bungalow for visitors. The other new edition is that of Mr. E. W. Thompson's *History of India* (Christian Literature Society, Madras). First published in 1908, it at once took rank as an almost ideal student's text book. The subsequent revisions have made it even more perfect. It is at present the most well planned, well written and up to date text book of Indian History.

Mr. W. S. Tower and J. Robert's *Petroleum: The Motive Power of the Future* (Hodder and Stoughton, London) is an interesting and very useful work, which will appeal not only to the oil seller or the oil consumer but even to the general reader. It is a revised version of Dr. Tower's *The Story of Oil* published originally in the United States, and deals with the history of petroleum, its nature, and how and where it is found, the world's production and possibilities of production, the discovery, working, and exhaustion of oil-fields, and the multitudinous uses to which the oil is put—chief among which of course is that of a motive power, whether as fuel or as a combustible. The book is well illustrated. Now that petroleum is so largely used in this country, and it is being more and more largely utilised for various purposes, the popular sketch under notice has a distinct value of its own.

We noticed in 1907 in terms of appreciation Mr. E. P. Horrwitz's *Short History of Indian Literature*. We now welcome his Indian Theatre (Blackie & Co., Bombay) which is a brief survey of Sanskrit drama. It does not purport to be an original or erudite work competing with the books on the subject in German and French. It is written with the object of providing a popular sketch of the subject for the general reader, unacquainted with Sanskrit, and the author has been pre-eminently successful in his efforts. The book imparts a very vivid impression of Sanskrit drama and brings home to the mind the lights and shadows of ancient Indian civilisation. Dr. Inazo Nitobe's *The Japanese Nation* (Putnam's Sons, London) is the resultant of the interchange of lectures on Japan in America by the author of the book under notice and in Japan on America by Mr. H. Wright Mabie, which gives special point to the publication of the text of the lectures. The author (who we believe is a Christian) is a distinguished Japanese scholar and is well-known for his ex-

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position of the highest ideals of his country in his book called *Bushido: the Soul of Japan*, which was reviewed at length by us on its first appearance some years back. Dr. Nitobe's lectures were delivered before university audiences. It must have been a peculiar pleasure for Dr. Nitobe to address his John Hopkins audience, for he is a graduate of that university; and it must have been with peculiar satisfaction that he addressed any American audience, for he has married an American lady. Dr. Nitobe is President of the First National College of Japan. He is also a professor in the Imperial University at Tokyo. The present volume, therefore, reflects the well-matured thought of one who, having been a teacher in his own country becomes a teacher in another. The book is valuable, therefore, both for study and reference, for it is imbued with Japanese history and ideas, interpreted by one who has had a cosmopolitan training and a familiarity with the traditions of other lands. Our young men have so much to learn from Japan, that we strongly commend to them a careful perusal of Dr. Nitobe's book.

Some months back we noticed the first volume of a new series called "Illustrated Literary Cyclopædia," which dealt with *Italian Literature*. The second volume called *Persian Literature* (Herbert and Daniel, London) by Mr. Claud Field is likely to appeal even more widely to readers in this country, where Persian is still regarded over a large tract as the language of culture. Mr. Field is a well-known Student of Persian language and literature and his survey of the subject from the Avesta to the literature inspired by the Babi and the Bahai movements is characterised by not only scholarship but a remarkable power of appealing to popular interest. Apart from Professor E. G. Browne's monumental but yet incomplete work *A Literary History of Persia* there was no comprehensive study of Persian literature in the English language, and we, therefore, trust that Mr. Field's book will be the means of attracting not only the student, but also the general reader to Persia's rich and splendid literature.

Sometime back we strongly commended to our students the first part of Professor Ambica Charan Mitra's *Principles of Logic*, dealing with "Deduction." We have now before us the second and concluding part, dealing with "Induction" (Lahiri & Co. 56, College Street, Calcutta), which is as thorough and lucid an exposition of the subject as can be found in the literature of Logic. The author has brought to bear upon his work a rich scholarship and large experience of the needs of Indian students and the result is an almost ideal text-book on the subject.

To the "Homes of Many Lands" series (Adam and Charles Black, London) Mr. John Finnimore contributes a volume on India. The book is mainly concerned with the village life and the pursuits of the agriculturists and is, on the whole, written with marked sympathy with the people. That is no reason, though, why the author should have written of them as "Indian natives." What are "Indian foreigners?" The interest of the book is enhanced by its being embellished with twelve beautiful full-page illustrations in colour by Mr. Mortimer Menpes.

Messrs. Jack (London) announce another twelve volumes of "The People's Books" to be published immediately. These will include an "Atlas of the World" in full colour by Bartholomew of Edinburgh. This will be the first time that an Atlas in colour bound in cloth has ever been offered at this price. Other volumes include "Turkey and the Eastern Question" by John Macdonald, "Zoology" by Professor E. W. MacBride, F. R. S., "Cecil Rhodes" by Ian Colvin, "Psychology" by H. J. Watt, M. A., Ph. D., "Nietzsche" by M. A. Mugge, Ph. D., "The Bible in the Light of the Higher Criticism" by Rev. W. F. Adeney, M. A., and Rev. Professor W. H. Bennett, Litt. D., and others

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THE

Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C., M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."

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THE POSITION OF HINDUS IN INDIA.—II.

By Sir KRISHNA G. GUPTA, K.C.S.I.

IT is a delicate subject to touch upon the political status of the Hindus, but it may not be amiss to mention a few undisputed facts. From about 2000 B.C. to the beginning of the thirteenth century Hindu supremacy remained practically undisturbed, and though successful invasions were made from time to time by various hordes from the West, these soon lost all trace of their origin and were absorbed in the Hindu fold. With Musalmans it was different; for two centuries they only made flying incursions for the sake of plunder, but in 1206 the first Pathan dynasty was established at Delhi and thenceforth till the middle of the eighteenth century, or for over 500 years Moslem rule prevailed in Upper India; I advisedly say Upper India for the Musalmans never made any lasting impression in Southern India, and elsewhere too, various Hindu Chiefs maintained a considerable amount of independence. The decline of Moslem power commenced with Aurungzebe towards the

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end of the seventeenth century; and before the British came into the scene the great Mahratta confederacy from the south had nearly extinguished the last vestige of authority of the Delhi throne, while the Punjab came under the iron grip of the Sikhs who may also be rightly regarded as Hindus; so that when Clive won the battle of Plassey in 1857, the real rivalry lay not between Moslems and the British, but between the latter and the Hindus as represented by the Mahrattas. The Hindu power, no doubt, was shattered for a time, especially in Upper India, but Hindu authority was never altogether effaced, and even the great Akbar found his most stubborn foes in the valiant Rajputs. With the decline of Moghul power, the Hindus again raised their heads, showing that the political vigour of the great Aryan race, however dormant, was yet far from being exhausted. It would not, therefore, be correct to discount the political importance of the Hindus as compared with that of any other people inhabiting India.

Whether we take Chiefs or landowners, or educated middle classes, including the various learned professions, or trade and commerce or industry, the Hindu element is everywhere predominant The Hindus take the lead in wealth, culture, and intelligence, and all that makes for progress and advancement.

It would be incorrect to suppose that the Hindus form a homogenous people. It is true that they have everywhere some points in common, such as profession of one or other of the various Hindu cults, reverence for the cow and the Brahman, and observance of caste rules. Above all, notwithstanding the extraordinary varieties of race and speech that are found in India, there is an underlying bond of civilisation in the language and sacred literature of the Aryans. But there has been little political unity. Apart from the fact that India, properly speaking is more a continent than a single country, there is much isolation among the various provinces. Each area is more or less self-contained and has evolved its own special type with features that differentiate it from its neighbours. Diversity of languages also stands in the way of cohesion. Thirty or forty distinct Indian languages are enumerated, while the number of dialects is much greater; but the more important languages fall under two groups, *viz.*, Aryan and Dravidian. The latter of which the principal branches are Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese hold firmly the south where the people are Dravidian. The Aryan group—Punjabi, Hindi, Marratti, Gujrati, Bengali, Oorya, &c., are practi-

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cally the languages of the remainder of the continent. Even in Southern India, Sanskrit literature has been widely disseminated among the Dravidian people in their own vernaculars, through the labours of Brahman scholars. Till the introduction of English to which I have already referred there was no means of communication between the people of one province with those of another except Sanskrit, with which, however, a very few were conversant, and latterly, Hindi or Urdu, which having its origin in the Mogul camp, has since become the predominant language in Upper India, and in its Persianised form is used by Musalmans all over the country.

Among the other obstacles to national growth are ignorance and superstition. The extent to which ignorance prevails has already been mentioned, and superstition follows in the wake of ignorance to which the quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans are frequently due.

The Hindus, it is true, are not yet a nation, but the throbbings of national life are already apparent. What Hindu religion could not do, what Brahman domination could not accomplish, what centuries of residence in a common country could not bring about, is being slowly but surely moulded by English education. English literature is inspiring the Indian mind with lofty ideals of liberty and citizenship. It is English education that is making communication and interchange of thought amongst the various peoples in India possible. It is in English that the Bengali talks to the Mahratta and the Punjabi to the Telegu. English is the language of national congresses and interprovincial conferences. No gratitude is too great for those benefactors of our people who introduced English education in India. Of late we have heard a good deal of the evils of English education, and there have been critics—some of them quite distinguished men—who have not hesitated to suggest the curtailment, if not the stoppage, of English education, and a reversion to what they are pleased to call Eastern learning, the underlying idea being that English education is responsible for anarchism. But can it be seriously affirmed that such political troubles as are found to exist in India are due to English education. Doubtless there are various signs of unrest, but are they in any sense peculiar to India? Are they not equally visible in Egypt, Persia, and China? Have not the marvellous changes which have taken place in Japan had their effect all over Asia? In India the few misguided lads who have proved erratic, are only half-educated, neurotic young men, and appear to draw their inspiration not from English books, but from the Bhagbatgita—the song divine—the

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glorious teachings of which are being perverted to grosser uses. Much has been laid at the door of English education, but time will disprove the charges. There is undeniably a considerable amount of unrest, but it is English education that has given it a right direction, and kept it within legitimate bounds. Of course, the system of education as pursued in Indian schools and colleges has many defects and drawbacks, and every effort must be made to remove them ; but that is quite a different thing from denouncing English education as the author of all political ills. It can be clearly and incontestably demonstrated that English education in India has done incomparably far more good than evil. It has raised the general tone of public morality, and enabled Indians to occupy the highest positions in the State, not only with ability but with exemplary integrity. Apart from the many material benefits which English education has conferred, it has done much to dispel ignorance and superstition, to foster public spirit, and to give birth to a new spirit of patriotism which was entirely unknown before. And instead of making men godless it has helped to revive spirituality, and to turn men's minds to a truer and higher conception of religion than can be had from blindly following any ancestral faith. In this connection it would not be amiss to refer to two notable reforming movements of the nineteenth century, *viz.*, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj.

Bengal witnessed the birth of Brahmaism, which is theism pure and simple, and is not to be confounded with Brahmanism ; and several years later the Arya Samaj appeared in the Punjab. Both these movements are the outcome of the contact of the East and the West. The British supremacy in India began in Bengal with Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757, and before many decades were over, the effects of the study of English literature became manifest in unsettling the minds of the people and shaking their faith in the religion of their ancestors. It was at this juncture, when the minds of the Hindus were in a state of apprehension, that a man arose who was preeminent in thought, culture, and attainments, and who turned the tide of unbelief towards an altogether different direction. This man was Raja Ram Mohan Ray. He was born in 1774, and early gave indications of great capacity. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English, Hebrew, and other languages. He was at the outset inspired by the Upanishads and his first impulse was to revive the sublime doctrines of those writings. But he was also greatly influenced by a study of the Koran and the Bible, and Brahmaism as

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founded by him, and as it has remained ever since, was an eclective faith, taking what was best in the other religions, and freely borrowing from them. It has thus assimilated the severe monotheism of the Koran, the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, and all the sublime morality that the Bible teaches, and the personal communion and spiritual elevation which are to be learnt from the Upanishads. On the other hand, it differs from all the other religions by refusing to accept any book as sacred in the sense of being a direct revelation from God, or to recognise any mediator or prophet through whom alone salvation is to be attained. Conscience, intuition, and divine inspiration as the result of intense communion with God are held to be the only guides in the path of religion. The founder of Brahmaism was not only a great religious reformer, but was also a pioneer in all social reforms, and he actively helped Lord William Bentinck in putting down *suttee* or the burning of widows and other evil practices.

I may remark in passing that the Raja was the first Indian of any note to cross the seas, for he came to England in 1831 and was present in the House of Commons when the debate on the first Reform Bill took place. His sad death in the following year was deeply mourned, and his cremated remains lie buried in Arno Vale Cemetery, Bristol.

The impulse given to social reform by the Raja has been well sustained by his followers, who have always taken a leading part in all social movements, such as abolition of caste and early marriage, promotion of remarriage of widows, education of women, and doing away with their seclusion, and the uplifting of the lower classes, besides taking a share in all philanthropic measures, such as famine relief, &c.; and it may be said that in proportion to their number the Brahmas have done much in all these respects. After the Raja the two great men who did most to spread Brahmaism were Debendranath Tagore, and Keshab Chandra Sen. The reception given to the latter when he visited England in 1870 must be within the recollection of some of us present here. Branches of the Brahma Samaj are now established in all parts of India, and its adherents number some of the most cultured and influential men.

The Arya Samaj owes its origin to Dayanand Sarasvati. It regards the Vedas as inspired and the only direct revelation from God, and aims at purging Hinduism of its accretions and restoring the simpler faith of ancient times. In common with Brahmaism,

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it discards caste and idolatry, permits the re-marriage of widows, allows conversion from other faiths, encourages adult marriage of both sexes, and fosters education but it lacks the eclectic character of Brahmaism, and its attitude towards other religions is not always friendly or tolerant. It has taken deep root in the Punjab, where it carries on an active and successful propaganda, and is rapidly extending in the neighbouring provinces, though elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, it is yet practically unknown.

Time will not permit me to refer to other movements each of which claims many followers, such as the ecstatic and fervid piety of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, vedantism of which Swami Vivekanand was such an able exponent, and theosophy, which is the product of the Western mind upon an Eastern basis, and which has been eagerly adopted by those Hindus who were unwilling to break away from the orthodox fold, but were yet glad to find in the new cult some satisfaction for their higher cravings.

People in this country hear only of political unrest and of its various manifestations. They take little heed of the great religious upheaval that has overtaken the Hindu world and of the various agencies that are at work for bringing about spiritual reform. From the earliest times the Hindu mind has been specially prone to religious emotions, and a Hindu above all is spiritual. His everyday life is mixed up with religion and his care is more for the next world than for this. Hinduism is passing through a crisis which may well be described as severe, and it remains to be seen how far its powers of adaption and assimilation, which have stood in such good stead in the past, will come again to its help, and in what form it will ultimately emerge.

One most salutary effect of the spread of the various reforming movements has been to liberalise Hinduism itself, and to purge it of some of the grossest forms of superstition. Hindus are beginning to realise the drawbacks of the caste system and the necessity of raising the depressed classes and admitting them to the common rights of citizenship. They are awakening to the fact that the position and status of women must be improved and that it is as much the duty of a father to educate his daughter as it is to educate his son. Already there is a stir in orthodox Hindu circles and there are signs of Hindu revival on a broader and purer basis. There is a growing conviction that political advancement cannot precede but must go hand in hand with social, moral, and I may add, industrial

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progress. English education has opened our eyes to the absolute need of industrial development. Under modern conditions of life it is not possible for any people to thrive or prosper materially without recourse to those methods that have conduced to the greatness of Western Countries. It is not yet practicable to give a scientific or technical training except through the medium of English. In India trades and crafts were wholly dominated by guilds and castes. Under such a system there was often much hereditary and individual efficiency, but there was no room for division of labour and production on a large scale, which are the main features of modern industrialism. English education further has taught us the dignity of labour, and old time prejudices against manual work is fast disappearing.

In social matters too the people have not been idle. The greatest bulwark of Hinduism is caste, and the various castes have been kept intact by restrictions of food and marriage. It is a matter of common observation that the restrictions of food are being gradually relaxed, so much so, that in the large cities like Calcutta they have nearly lost all their force. I remember the time when a breach of the sumptuary rules entailed the severest penalties, including social ostracism. But we have now the satisfaction of witnessing the practical disappearance of the old disabilities. Railways and steamers have come in to the aid of English education in relaxing the restrictions on food, and men who have been on a visit to foreign countries are readmitted to caste with or without purificatory ceremonies. I am aware that among the masses, and even among the educated classes in some parts of the country, the caste rules are still strictly observed. But a great and perceptible breach has been made, and it is daily widening ; the future is thus full of hope.

The rules regarding endogamy are, however, strictly observed, except among those like the Brahmas and Arya Samajists, who openly encourage intermarriage ; but even among the orthodox people something in the same direction is being done by permitting marriages between subdivisions of the same caste.

Of all the evils that afflict Hindu society the caste system is one of the worst. In the peculiar circumstances of the settlement and development of the Aryans in India, the growth of the caste system was perhaps inevitable. It may have had its uses at one time in making each caste particularly zealous in maintaining its own preeminence and thus prompting a Brahman to excel in learning, a

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kshetriya in warfare, and a *vaisya* in his particular craft. But there can be no doubt that the rigid form which it ultimately assumed, and in which it has continued for centuries, has done much to stifle the healthy growth of the nation, and instead of making for unity and cohesion, has fomented dissensions among the various classes, fostered pride and arrogance on the one side and servility and resentment on the other, raised difficulties in the way of free social intercourse, thrown obstacles in the path of travel, caused physical deterioration, and been one of the main factors of the degenerations of a once great race. Admitting that in past times the system served some useful purpose—there is no denying the fact that at present it has not a single redeeming feature—and if the Hindu is again to lift his head and take part in the great work of nation building, he must revert to his original Aryan type and demolish the barriers that divide the community.

Education is no longer the monopoly of the privileged few, and the learned professions are now open to all classes. The great masses are beginning to pulsate with the common pride of humanity, and refuse to accept the doctrine that birth and not capacity should decide one's status and rank. But instead of boldly disowning caste, the depressed classes at times strive for a higher position in the social framework by trying to prove their supposed identity with some recognised superior caste. Such attempts only lead to collision with other classes, and intensify existing estrangements without bringing any corresponding advantage to their authors.

Another canker which eats into the vitals of Hindu society is early marriage. It is difficult to trace the origin of this pernicious custom, for the Aryan settlers certainly did not practise it. In the Rigveda the god of marriage is entreated to go to some other maiden who is "still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage," and again to "go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed." Even much later, Kalidasa, the Hindu Shakespeare, who flourished in the sixth century after Christ, describes the heroine of his immortal drama "Sakuntala" as having attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness when she meets her lover. "Svayambara," the choice by a princess of a husband from several suitors in open assembly, was a recognised custom in royal houses. The practice of early marriage was of slow growth, beginning perhaps with the natural anxiety of a comparatively small community of

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strangers fighting their way against powerful enemies, and in urgent need of population to open up the country to have children as early as possible; and later, when troublous times came, parents were doubtless anxious to provide their daughters with partners who would also be their protectors as soon as practicable. But whatever the reason, the unnatural custom has become universal among the higher classes. Its evil effects upon the community are but too apparent. It has been the main factor in the physical deterioration of the race, and in stunting the growth and development of individuals of both sexes. Girls who should be in the playground or at school are carried off to lead unhealthy lives in seclusion, and undertake the responsibilities of a mother when they are yet unable to take care of themselves. Education in the proper sense of the word is thus impossible for girls belonging to orthodox families, as they have to leave school before they have had time to acquire the rudiments of learning.

The young man is no less handicapped. He becomes burdened with the cares of a family before he has finished his education. He is not free to go about and seek a suitable career but must accept anything that may come in his way to meet his immediate necessities. But the worst effects fall upon the issue of such child-marriages, and they come to this world weighted among other disadvantages with an enfeebled constitution.

The sufferings of child-widows are well known. They, along with widows of maturer years, are subjected to hardships and disabilities, which make their budding lives miserable; but there could not be child-widows if there were no child-marriages. The stoppage of child-marriage would at once make child-widows impossible.

It is a hopeful sign that the people are beginning to realise the evils of this unnatural custom, and the difficulty of securing eligible bridegrooms is raising the marrying age of girls. The young men are learning to resist the importunities of their parents for early wedlock. Progress so far has been slow, but there is hope of acceleration as time proceeds. With a view to removing social evils, conferences are held in all parts of the country to decide upon common courses of action and they have already been productive of much good.

Last of all there is the National Congress which has been in existence since 1885, and which in its annual sessions has done much to focus the political aspirations of the best Indian minds and to indicate in what directions reforms and advance are desired. The Congress voices the hopes and wishes of educated India. It is the

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outcome of the contact of the East and West, and is well aware that the continuance of the British connection is absolutely essential to the regeneration of India and to the moulding of its diverse races into one great nation. At the outset it was viewed with distrust and met with much antagonism, but the British Government has not failed to recognise the just claims of educated India, and the recent constitutional reforms which will ever be connected with the honored name of Lord Morley mark a departure which is fraught with momentous results. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils, the increase of the elected and popular element in them, and the grant of powers of interpellation and moving resolutions are all a recognition of the legitimate demands of educated India. The Secretary of State's Council has been opened to Indians as have also been the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and Provincial Governors. Instead of despair and despondency there is hope and jubilation in the land. The loyal and moderate people are again in the ascendant, and the malcontents and anarchists lie discredited. The King-Emperor's visit has brought to the surface the innate loyalty of the people of India and the British Throne is as firmly established in their affections as it is here.

It is not the time to quarrel over phrases. Autonomy may mean much or it may mean little; it may also be said that self-government on colonial lines is inapplicable to India. But as a question of practical politics one has to look, not to words, but to actual facts. What has happened since the Crown took over the government of the country from the East India Company a little over half a century ago? There were then no Legislative Councils and Indians occupied only very humble and subordinate positions in every branch of the public service. The first Legislative Council was established in 1862 on a tentative and cautious basis, and if we consider what has been the expansion of the Councils in just about 50 years, is it too much to hope that in course of time they will be as representative of the peoples of India as the Parliament here is of the British public? And as for the public services, there is no civil appointment which is not open to Indians who now occupy seats on the highest Courts of Justice and are also members of the inmost sanctuaries of Imperial and Provincial Governments. This may not be called autonomy but it is clearly a fair beginning of the participation of the people in the administration of their own country, and this participation

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instead of diminishing will go on expanding. The Hindus as well as the other communities of India are proud of the British connection and realise what it means to be citizens of a world-wide and beneficent Empire.

I will not enter here into the thorny and unpleasant question of the treatment of Indians in the self-governing colonies, but it is to be hoped that with the growth and strength of the popular element in the government of India on the one hand and a clearer perception by the colonists of their imperial obligations on the other a settlement will be arrived at which will be satisfactory to all concerned.

Indians are striving to improve their condition in all respects, moral, spiritual, industrial, and political, and above all to secure unity which can only be done through the English language and the British connection. The various provinces and peoples may advance and evolve on their own separate lines, but if Indians are ever to be one nation it will only be under the sovereignty of the British Crown. The great work of nation building has already begun, and if the course laid down is steadily pursued, it will not be long before the goal is reached. One sees the hand of Providence in the extraordinary circumstances which have brought England and India together. No country is better fitted than England to help and guide India in the great work of regeneration. What is wanted is more sympathy, more good feeling, and less distrust and less suspicion. When I think of the marvellous changes that have taken place within my own life-time I am filled with faith and hope, and I would conclude this imperfect address with the following words from one of your great statesmen as embodying the true principle of real imperialism.

"We are a constitutional country. But we are more than that. We are the head and governing centre of a vast Empire, largely acquired by conquest, within whose bounds are many races and many sovereignties profoundly different from my own. With patience, with tolerance, with skill, by the discipline of self-government, by shrewd or firm strokes of policy, we have in this generation and the last pursued, and are now pursuing, a mighty work of consolidation and of reconciliation which has continually tended to make a home within the Empire for all its peoples, so that their rights may be established and their creeds respected, and their traditions honoured, and so that we all may stand together in the high comradeship of freedom unbroken in the hour of trial."

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ASIA'S GRAND OLD MAN.

By Mr. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

IF there is an Asiatic alive to-day who may be said to belong to the whole continent rather than merely to the country which gave him birth, that person is Count Shigenobu Okuma. In his Motherland he has attained the highest rank that it is given to a statesman, sage, and educationist to achieve, and yet he has not permitted the duties and honours incidental to such a brilliant and arduous career to limit his mental horizon, or stunt his sympathies, but has found the time and possessed the inclination to think of the problems besetting the march of the Orient on the path of progress, and to assist in their solution.

The best proof of this is the fact that all Asiatics touring or sojourning in Japan long to catch a glimpse of Count Okuma, or, better still, talk with him. He is only one of the living "Elder Statesmen" of Nippon—leaders who have helped to change the face of Japan, converted a tiny island-kingdom of no significance, sunk deep in the mire of feudalism, into a mighty world-power whose naval and military successes have wrung unstinted praise from all nations and where industrial and economic growth has been marvellous—others of these great personages are still alive. But Count Okuma is the one amongst them who is eagerly sought out by Orientals when they visit the land of the Rising Sun. The reason for this is apparent. Whereas most of the illustrious men of the Sunrise Empire have permitted patriotic problems exclusively to occupy their attention—the temptation to do so being serious in consequence of the heaviness of the task of modernising the land—Count Okuma, though he has successively held the portfolios of Finance Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Agriculture, and Prime Minister, and for years has been the Chancellor of the *Waseda* University of Tokyo, and the guiding spirit of the Japanese progressives, has not permitted himself to be completely absorbed by home politics but has acquainted himself with the political, economic, and social conditions of other lands. This establishes a peculiar bond of sympathy between the Count and all Orientals. Though he is now in his seventy-fifth year, he still keeps himself well informed about the trend of affairs in Asia—indeed, throughout the world. In fact, since, of late years, he has found more leisure for reading books and current literature, he has been able to keep in closer touch with what is going on outside Japan, and his interest in Oriental progress has become even deeper than it was before.

How well Count Okuma has familiarised himself with the topics of the time becomes at once apparent to anyone who meets him. He is able to talk with a native of any country about the problems which are stirring the minds of the leaders of that land. This, of course, is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that a corps of secretaries constantly are busy digesting and

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summarising articles in newspapers, magazines, and reviews from all over the globe, in order to retail the pith of current literature to their august employer, whose desire for knowledge is insatiable. Be it noted that the Count is not only well informed about the questions of the day, but also is deeply versed in the history and literature of both the Orient and the Occident.

Even wider than his knowledge of the world (and especially Asian) movements, is his rich sympathy for those who are seeking to advance humanity, and his readiness to aid such evolution. Naturally, being an experienced man of affairs, he has too much discernment to permit his time to be occupied with trivialities, but if you call to his attention some truly laudable effort, he is sure to be interested, and eager to help by sound advice, and often to give financial assistance, the endeavours which he has aided by liberal donations from his purse being many and varied.

His interest in propagandas making for Asiatic progress, and his sympathy with those who are behind these efforts, is particularly great. The reason for this is that Count Okuma, though venerable in years, and rich in knowledge and experience, in virtue of his ideals, methods, and temperament continues to be a progressive of progressives, as he has been all his life, and the Oriental evolution which is waking Asiatics from their slumber of ages and impelling them to bring themselvas abreast of the other enlightened nations, appeals to the best in him.

In view of the fact that he invariably has stood for the modernisation of the Orient, he is a "Young Oriental." In fact, his years' statemanship, sagacity, knowledge, and past record place him at the head of the Asiatics of the new school. All Orientals who meet him acclaim him the perfect flower of new Asia.

In Count Okuma are centred the pride of the young Orient, the aggressiveness of the new East, the awakening manhood of Asia arising from its centuries-long stupor. He is very much aggrieved to observe that many of the Eastern nations are still in a *coma*. He is sorry to see the generality of Asiatics lagging behind in the race of life, and grouped as members of "an inferior race." He wants the Orientals seriously to engage in the struggle for existence, and toughen their moral fibre.

Count Okuma especially is anxious that the Japanese shall continue to go forward. A few years ago, speaking at the Kobe Chamber of Commerce, he remarked :

"You can go anywhere with ease and pleasure under the protection of the Japanese fleet * * * * From old times India has been a land of treasure. * * * * * Why should not the Japanese stretch out their hands toward that country * * * * * ? The Japanese ought to go to India * * * * *."

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Such a statement, coming from so important a personage, caused so much comment that the Japanese leader felt constrained to disavow that he meant that his countrymen should politically subjugate India, but only proposed that, through peaceful methods they should wrest India's trade from the Occidental powers. This construction, however, was pooh-poohed by many writers who sought to point out the fallacy of the explanation.

To me, personally, such an interpretation of his words on this occasion appears to be quite sincere for when all is said and considered, this venerable statesman is not a "jingo". Some statements made by him at various times frankly may be admitted to have been characterised by strength, and sometimes, to have been even bellicose. These, however, were remarks made at moments when the Count's temperature was high and his emotions in a state of ebullation. As a general rule, however, his counsels have been of a soothing nature. Advancing years have especially strengthened the judicial habit of his mind, and turned him into an avowed (and, let it be emphasised, sincere) pacifist. In a recent article from his pen he declares :—

"Territorial expansion is a dream. Its time is gone, and peace has come upon the earth. * * * * The progress of peace must ultimately result in disarmament."

Indeed, as he is to-day, Count Okuma is an eminently well-balanced man. He is self-respecting, but is not possessed of an exaggerated ego. He is a man—every inch of him—but he also is a scholar and a student, and is possessed of a discriminating mind. Thus, he would resist aggression with all his might, yet it is not easy to offend his dignity or injure his susceptibilities. In a word in a unique manner he combines in his personality the fire of the young Orient and the calm of old Asia, the mother of many civilisations.

Besides possessing this singularly sane disposition, Count Okuma is a man of deep discernment. Versed in the ancient history and literature of the East, he is proud of Asia's contribution to the world's enlightenment. But he remembers the Orient of the Mediaeval Ages, when darkness spread over the whole continent, killing all that was best in its humanity. He realises (something which few Orientals of the "young" type grasp, that only a corner of this dense veil as yet has been lifted from the face of his continent, and that the East, despite the Japanese victories on the Manchurian battle fields, and in the Tushima Straits, still is as weak as a child when compared to the West—the full-grown man.

Therefore, Count Okuma, instead of being a firebrand who goads his followers to the brink of bloody conflicts, is a wise leader who induces his lieutenants to devote themselves to the cultivation of their intellects, and to the production of material welfare. He wishes to see Asia prepare itself for an industrial and intellectual struggle, for, in the last analysis, he thinks that it is in these arenas rather than on the battlefield that the race of modern

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life is to be run. Thus he is admirably fitted to be the leader of the new Orient, and to be chosen as the example after which Asiatics desiring to be truly progressive and yet not offensive upstarts should pattern their lives.

That Count Okuma should seek to reconcile the East and the West, rather than foment trouble between the two, is only to be expected, because, though an Oriental by nativity, from his earliest years he has been subjected to Occidental influences and has imbibed just as freely from the fount of Western knowledge as from the well of Eastern learning. To realise the full force of the statement that the Orient and Occident are blended in this man in a wholesome combination, it is only necessary to consider his career.

He was born in February, 1838, at Saga, in the Province of Hizen. His father, Nobuyasu Okuma, a *Samurai* (member of the warrior caste) holding an important place in the Saga clan, died when the child was eight years old. However, the youngster's widowed mother proved to be uncommonly sagacious, and brought him up wisely. First he was sent to an academy maintained by the Barons of his tribe, where he was given a good grounding in Chinese classics. Later he repaired to a missionary institution at Nagasaki where he learned English History, Mathematics, and the Bible. His Christian teachers also sought to instill in him the principles of Western civilisation.

When, in 1853, Commodore Perry visited Japan, Shigenobu Okuma was only fifteen years old, but, being wise much beyond his years, he took an intelligent interest in the events that led to the downfall of the old and the establishment of the new order of things in his land. To his credit let it be said that during that critical period he was able to see the folly of continuing the prevailing system, and threw himself on the side of modernisation.

In recognition of his progressive tendencies, upon the formation of the new Government, Shigenobu Okuma was appointed chief assistant in the department organised for the conduct of foreign affairs. This was the right post for the young man, because, despite the prejudices against foreigners which prevailed before Nippon saw the light, he had formed friendships with Christian missionaries—more particularly with Dr, Verbeck, his teacher—from whom he had imbibed the best of Western culture, and had sought to cultivate relations with aliens and assimilate their civilisation.

Some time later Count Okuma was promoted to be the Secretary in the department of the Interior and Finance. His next post was that of the President of the Japanese Commission charged with the duty of sending exhibits to the Vienna Exhibitions. From 1873 to 1881 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, first as a vice-Minister, but later as a member of the Cabinet.

While he was holding the last-named office, feeling that the time had come for the introduction of a constitutional government in the Daybreak Empire, he drew up a memorial urging this innovation, which he proposed to submit to the Emperor. However, his colleagues would not

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listen to this proposal and sought to dissuade him from carrying it into effect. The Count did not change his mind, but left the Cabinet and formed the *Kokuminto* the Progressive party, in order to carry on agitation for the democratisation of Japan.

A year prior to the promulgation of the Constitution—*e. g.*, 1888—Count Okuma again found himself holding a cabinet portfolio. This time he was sent back to the department of Foreign Affairs, and made Minister of it. As a part of his work, he was called upon to revise treaties with the great Powers. Nippon's army and navy had not then distinguished themselves, nor in any other way had the Japanese established their title to being accorded equality of treatment by the Occidental nations. Naturally, Count Okuma was called upon to make compromises which, at a latter stage, would not have been required. His desire to make the best of a bad job gave umbrage to his hot-headed countrymen, one of whom, Kurushima Tsuneki by name, took it upon himself to wreak vengeance upon the diplomat for "betraying" Japan. He waited, one day, until the great man came out of the Foreign Office and entered his carriage, and then threw at him a bomb which exploded and injured him so seriously that, in order to save his life, it was necessary to amputate his leg at the knee. The malcontent fatally stabbed himself as soon as he had thrown the bomb, thus acting as his own executioner.

Following the perpetration of this tragedy, Count Okuma resigned his office, but as soon as he recovered he took up the propaganda of advancing democracy in his Motherland and vigorously led the *Kokuminto*. In 1896, he once again entered the Cabinet as Foreign Minister. He retained this position only for a short time.

Some time later he formed a coalition with Count Itagaki, and, in 1908, was called to office as the Premier, in addition to which he retained the portfolio of foreign Affairs. This Cabinet was a short-lived one, and since its dissolution the Count has made no effort to regain office.

Some years ago he relinquished the active leadership of the political party founded by him in the Eighties. Since then he has devoted himself almost exclusively to furthering the cause of education and social reform.

At present *Waseda* University—which is the largest private University in the country, numbering about 6,000 students on its rolls, and famous for courses in politics, sociology, and commerce—claims the paramount attention of Count Okuma, who founded it in 1882 under the name of *Tokyo Semmon Gakko*. The distinguishing feature of this institution is that it has nothing to do with the Government. It receives no subsidy from the Administration, nor is it under the authority of the national Educational Department. Indeed, Count Okuma told me that he founded the University primarily for the purpose of imparting scholastic training along broad, liberal lines, without the interference of Government officials, whose influence (he said) always has a deleterious effect upon the independent nature of education. This institution

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undoubtedly was started as an adjunct to the Progressive Party founded a few months prior to the establishment of the *Tokyo Semmon Gakko*, and it has resulted in turning out thousands of graduates impressed with the ideals of the founder. Thus it has materially helped to advance the cause of democracy in Dai Nippon.

The graduates and students of *Waseda* University are extravagantly fond of Count Okuma, and look upon him as their Master and friend. His annual address, delivered in his capacity of Chancellor, is an event looked forward to with great anticipation by the pupils.

Another institution in which this Grand Old Man takes great interest is the Japanese Women's University in Tokyo, the foundation and success of which owes much to Count Okuma, who was one of the first Orientals to realise the necessity of educating and modernising Asiatic women. From his youth to this day he has continuously worked for feminine emancipation. Naturally the educated women of Nippon regard him as their benefactor, and revere him as a saint.

Female emancipation forms only one unit of the Count's social reform propaganda, another important item on the programme being the crusade against vice. When, some time ago, the *Yoshiwara*—the quarter devoted to prostitution—burnt down in Tokyo, the venerable-statesman boldly advocated that this place should not be rebuilt. He wrote:

"Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves because he considered slavery the greatest sin ever committed by mankind. It was the same belief which actuated our Government to issue, as far back as 1872, an ordinance declaring that the unhappy women held against their will by their masters should be set free. Had this declaration been carried out to the letter, the licensed quarters in Tokyo, and, indeed, in all parts of the country, would have long since become a thing of the past. But the practical difficulties which had to be overcome in the execution of the ordinance must have seemed to the authorities insurmountable, and the commendable declaration was permitted to fall into '*innocuous desuetude*.' Yet the same ordinance must still remain binding, inasmuch as we never heard of the Privy Council having repealed it. The abolition of the licensed quarters, therefore, calls for no new legislation; it is only necessary to disinter the old ordinance from oblivion and urge the authorities to enforce it."

Count Okuma then went on to declare that the maintenance of licensed quarters was an affront to the Imperial Edict of 1905, urging the educational authorities to lay great emphasis upon the ethical training of the rising generation. He pointed out that Japanese boys and girls were taught in the public schools to cultivate all the qualities and virtues calculated to make them morally strong, but, he asked, "how can we expect them to grow moral and noble when we set before their eyes an example of shameful immorality by maintaining an ignoble institution."

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For an Oriental, Count Okuma, at seventy-five, is unusually vigorous, physically as well as mentally. His interest in the affairs of his own country and the world at large continues unabated. He frequently mounts the platform, and whether he speaks in the Capital or in the Provinces, the lecture halls are packed with men and women who, though calm, imperterbable Easterners, vociferously express their approval of the sentiments that he utters. He also writes many pamphlets and newspapers and magazine articles, his *chef d'oeuvre*, it may be noted in passing, being "Fifty Years of New Japan," a monumental work on the history of modern Nippon.

Now, as in his youth, Count Okuma retains his love for fashionable dress which brought him the nickname of "High-kara-son" (high-collared gentleman, or fop). Whether dressed in European or native clothes, he always presents a trim, stylish appearance. So anxious is he to look smart that when his leg was amputated he had an American surgeon fit him with an artificial limb, and now only a slight limp betrays the fact that his leg is not perfect.

The Count finds his chief recreation in horticulture. He owns one of the finest private gardens in Japan, where he proudly shows his guests the best specimens of dwarfed maples and other trees, miniature azalias, camellias, and rare orchids. He is extremely hospitable, and his fetes and soirees are justly celebrated. Courteous, kind, and urbane, he makes all feel at home.

Count Okuma has not been gifted with a son. His heir, therefore, is his son-in-law, who, according to the Japanese custom, has taken the family name of his wife, and is now known as Nobutsune Okuma. He is the second son of Count Matsura.

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At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were the power to be reckoned with, and any attempt on the part of another country to open up trade with the countries in the East met with the severest opposition. They had for many years been the ruling power in the East and exacted from many of the rajahs rights to trade, and in many cases, the monopoly of the trade. They had formed a strong fleet and it was supposed no power would dare to offer it any attack. The great sea-fight which took place at the end of the year 1612 when Captain Best shattered the Portuguese, was most decisive, and gave the English a status in the eyes of the Indian princes they had never before held. The English traders for several years were content with what trade they could get in the Spice Islands, and for several years they made no real attempt to enter into relations with the Indian rulers. In 1607 Captain Hawkins had proceeded to the court of the Emperor Jehangir with a letter from James the First, but, despite the promises of the Emperor, and the pledges of Hawkins, confirmed by his marrying a white maiden out of his palace, the long stay he made in Agra proved in vain. Two years later some merchants gained an unstable footing in Surat, but they had not received any firman from the rulers. The attempts of Sir Henry Middleton made in 1610 to trade with Surat were frustrated by the Portuguese who dispatched a fleet against him. The action of the Portuguese in preventing the English traders from landing on this occasion made the Directors determine to take the necessary steps to break the power of their enemy. Accordingly a small fleet, commanded by Captain Best, set sail with orders to conciliate the goodwill of the Indian Emperor, to open up trade, and if necessary to drive off the Portuguese. The expedition could not well have been entrusted to a better man than Best, and right well did he prove his metal. The Red Dragon was a small vessel purchased from the Earl of Cumberland, the Hosiander, the second vessel was much smaller. These arrived off Swally at the mouth of the Tapti River toward the month of October, and in November they were called upon to do battle with the enemy's ships, four in number, and mounting over 120 guns. These ships were attended by thirty frigates or rowed galleys for boarding. It was the intention of the captain to capture the two English vessels, but he had to reckon with a man who never lost an opportunity of attacking his enemy in the weakest point, and who was quick to say where that point was. Best noted that the Portuguese admiral and vice-admiral were separated by

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the tide and shoals from the rest of the ships, so he promptly bore down on the two great ships with the 'Red Dragon' and the 'Hosiander'. Unfortunately the second ship could not get clear of her anchors so the small one was forced to fight the keen struggle alone. But Best was a clever and cool commander, and undaunted in the face of danger. He steered straight for the enemy, and not until he was between the admiral and vice-admiral did he commence firing. Then he poured such a volley of shot into the two vessels that "by an hour he had well-peppered them with some fifty shot", and forced them to seek a place of safety. The 'Red Dragon' did not altogether escape, for her mainmast struck and her longboat was sunk by cannon balls. But Best was ready the next morning, and the two little ships again sallied forth. The position was in favour of the English vessels. In those days the mouth of the Surat estuary was silted up with sand and there were dangerous currents. The silt of the Tapti river formed a long shoal at high water along the coast. In this shoal lay the Swally anchorage, 7 miles long and one and a half miles broad, with sandpits and bars on the shore side. It was a capital ground for the little English ships which were able to move about much more easily than the heavy Portuguese vessels. The Hosiander showed what fighting there was in it, for the old record says that she "danced the hay about them so that they durst not show a man on the hatches". The fight continued all day, and a fire ship sent by the enemy toward the English ships was sunk by cannon balls. There was a rest on December 1st, and on the 2nd Best tried to draw the Portuguese, but for the present they had had enough. On the 22nd of December fighting again took place and continued till the next day when Best attacked the strong forces of the enemy which ended in a complete route. The fight had been watched by crowds of Indian soldiers on the shores who changed their opinion of the fighting powers of the English whom they always considered as merely traders. Having shown their prowess the traders were able to open negotiations for trade rights on a more satisfactory basis. The running fight for a whole month had completely shattered the power of the Portuguese, a power she had built up as the result of sea victories of a hundred years. The rajahs were now only too ready to look with favour on the English, and many offered to give the Company the necessary firmans. Best was determined that everything should be done in order, so he demanded that the local rajahs should receive the sanction of the Emperor to their proposals. The first treaty so arranged

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declared that all the grievances which had arisen from the reprisals of Sir Henry Middleton should be buried, that the goods sold or bought by the Company's traders should be subjected only to a fixed duty of three and a half per cent; that the factors should not be molested; that all care should be taken of the buildings in possession of the Company; that in the event of the death of English factors, the Company's property should be kept safe by the Indian authorities for delivery to the next fleet. This agreement with the Governor of Surat was entered into in December, but it was not till February 6th, 1613, that the Royal Firman was duly signed by the Emperor and presented to Best. It is interesting to note that Best was annoyed at the unceremonious way in which the firman was presented. He evidently recognised the importance of the occasion, though he little guessed what a valuable document it was to become, for he demanded that the firman should be presented with full Oriental ceremony. This was done, and thus was laid the foundation stone of the British Empire in India. Without the decisive battle fought by Captain Best such a foundation would not have been possible for all the attempts of the traders to open up commerce would have been frustrated by the stronger forces of the Portuguese.

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AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.

By Mr. MUKUT BIHARI LAL BHARGAVA, B. A.

AGRICULTURE has been since time immemorial and is even at the present day, the occupation and only source of maintenance of the millions in India. The only other important avocation—weaving—has practically disappeared and the modern mills provide employment to an infinitisimally small fraction of the populace. In accordance, therefore, with the old adages that 'practice makes perfect' the Act of Agriculture should have reached a very high degree of perfection, but the actual condition of it is legible even to the swiftest runner. The Indian farmers are the poorest lot of humanity on the face of the wide earth. We shall in this paper try to find out the reasons of this poverty and consider the means whereby the condition of the Agrarian classes can be ameliorated.

India is, from an agricultural point of view, an old country and the inevitable law of the 'Diminishing Returns' has been in force for a considerable time past. Every increase of capital and labour to this industry brings a proportionately much smaller return. Any remedy that can be suggested for stopping or at least retarding this exhaustion of the productive power of the soil can be only temporary. Introduction of electricity and steam, employment of scientific irrigators and other tools, or of richer manures, &c., &c. may for some time yield constant or even increasing return to every additional dose of capital labour but after a time the law of 'diminishing' returns is bound to set in again.

As practically the entire country lives on agriculture the result has been that even the lands on the margin of cultivation have been brought under the plough. The cultivators of such soil can after infinite toil, only manage to make their two ends meet. But as the struggle for existence is keen and there is practically no other means of livelihood for these poor classes, they are obliged to make a living, however precarious from such soil.

Again the success or failure of agriculture is to a considerable extent dependent upon nature. For its success, the rain fall must not vary greatly from time to time, it must be regular, punctual and intermittent. Failure of these conditions in the yearly monsoon, or visits of other calamities over which man has no control, such as untimely appearance of hail storms, means failure of crops and subsequent distress of the populace in general and the agriculture classes in particular.

These are some of the inherent disadvantages under which an agricultural country like India is bound to labour. We have seen brighter pictures painted of agriculture in ancient or even in medieval India; but it is idle to conclude from it that the country was formerly immune from the operations of the laws

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of nature and the vagaries of weather any more than it is now. The safer conclusion would of course be that other concomitant factors of agricultural life were more favourable at that time. For instance agriculture was assisted by other domestic industries which have almost wholly disappeared now owing to the keen competition with machine made products of the west.

The proper remedy for bettering the condition of Indian agriculture is, paradoxical though it may at first sight appear, the gradual replacement of the art by manufactures and industries. Not that agriculture must be given up altogether. It must be resorted to only so far as is consistent with the needs of the country—capital and labour should be diverted more and more to manufacturing industries. [We shall in a separate paper discuss the advantages of manufactures and industries for a country like ours.]

But so long as that does not happen it is incumbent that steps are taken to improve the miserable condition of the agriculturists and in this cause the Goverment, the people i.e. the educated and the moneyed classes and the agriculturists themselves should make a combined effort.

The question of the State demand is the most important problem for consideration. In ancient times, this demand was generally moderate as the then Government had realised that a nation could not prosper if the soil was over-assessed. One tenth or thereabout of the produce was regarded as the proper contribution to the State Exchequer. The case now is different. The agriculturist is now bled to the last drop and is left no margin for any savings, not only that, but if he can manage somehow to make his two ends meet he is considered to be liable to an increase in rent at the next settlement and the eyes of the greedy revenue assistant are always turned towards him. To this state of affairs the malpractices of the intermediaries or the direct immediate collectors of revenue such as patwaris and kanungoes contribute a good deal, no doubt.

The late Mr. R. C. Dutta has, in his "Open Letters to Lord Curzon" discussed the question of land revenue in a masterly fashion and has come to the right conclusion that in order that the land holders in India may prosper the first necessary step that should be taken is to readjust revenue demands on a basis strictly in conformity with the existing pecuniary condition of the agriculturists. Side by side with this readjustment he advocates the extension of the permanent settlement to the whole country, but failing that he suggests that a definite part of the produce of the soil should be fixed as the proper share of the State. He recommends "Extension of the terms of settlement and enhancement of revenue at recurring settlements on certain definite conditions such as increase in the price of crops, resort to civil courts to settle the ryot's objections to a new assessment. These conditions very nearly approach those of the Permanent Settlement. The British Government will be doing an act of simple justice if it gives effect to these proposals entirely or even partially.

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In most cases the agriculturists are already so deep in debt that unless an entire settlement of their liabilities is effected nothing can protect them from the thorny clutches of their creditors. In by no means a few places the majority of the ryots have to borrow even their seed grain for the next crop. In order to help the zamindars in this miserable position both the Government and the people should exert themselves. The Government should clear a part of their debts by advancing them money in the form of *taccavi* to be recoverable in very easy instalments. In the Punjab the British Government has tried to combat the evil by restricting the peasants power to sell his land except to members of *bona fide* agricultural tribes. This acts as a very powerful check on the village Bania who not unoften used to buy up the entire holdings of the ryots in payment of his debts. But the Act has some disadvantages also which are more or less serious. A better solution, however, of the problem of agricultural indebtedness is the establishment of Village Land Banks and Co-operative Credit Societies. Such banks and societies serve a two-fold purpose. In the first place the peasants are enabled to borrow money at low rates of interest and in the second they discourage the peasants' tendency to borrow imprudently and to spend the loan on unproductive purposes. The movement of Co-operative Credit in India is still in its infancy. The U. P. Government advanced 2½ crores of rupees during the famine of 1907-08, a sum considerably exceeding four times the aggregate working capital of every kind of Co-operation Credit Society in the Province. This fact alone demonstrates the enormous scope for the development of the co-operative movement. But the progress so far made and the results so far achieved by these societies are not certainly discouraging as they are doing useful work. Sir Leslie Porter, sometime officiating Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, referring to his own province once said that the results (of the movement of Co-operative Credit) afford ground for the confident hope that in time the great economic advantages of Co-operation Credit will be recognised by a large section of the agricultural population of the country.

Another step towards improving the condition of Indian peasants is the increased provision of irrigation facilities. Lord Curzon once said :—"The subject of irrigation is one that appeals very closely to my concern. We are all familiar with the aphorism about the services of the statesman who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before and in India we need not be reminded of the twice and almost immediate benefit of the agrarian class that results from an increase in the area of cultivation." "Good maxims and well pronounced" but "they will be better if well followed." No doubt the British Government has been constructing canals to meet the situation and public expenditure on irrigation has greatly increased recently and the results have been equally good to agriculture and public finance. But there is infinite scope for further extension of Irrigation works. Instead of spending so much on army and on railways if the Government spends

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for irrigation only a moiety of this expenditure the benefit to the agricultural population in particular and to the entire country in general would be untold indeed.

So far about the help which is required by the agriculturist from the Government and the people. He must exert himself also to improve his condition. The Indian peasant is proverbially extravagant in spite of his poverty on the occasions of births, funerals and marriages in his family. On such occasions he will borrow money which he cannot repay during his life-time. Sometimes even the interest on this loan is enough to swallow his entire savings which he effects by curtailing some of the bare necessities of life. This habit of extravagance can be checked by the establishment of village banks as said above and by education.

The ignorance of these men is as complete as it is distressing. Improved schools, enormous educational grants and a general zeal for instructing the poor have failed to educate them. The remedy should therefore come from within or it lies in compulsion. The Indian farmer often sends his boys to the village school when they are young but they are obliged to leave school after a year or two either because the school cannot give further education and the parents cannot afford to send their boys to towns or because the parents believe that the labour of the boys in the field would be a source of help to them. Thus when children leave school when 8 or 9 years old, to become plough boys the little that he has learnt is soon forgotten and the consequence is that in the majority of villages there is not one man who can read or write. Parents are accused of neglecting their childrens' welfare but how can we expect those who are so miserably poor, who are ignorants themselves and know not the value of knowledge to sacrifice the two annas a day that a boy of 10 years may readily earn or forego the help he may give them in field labour.

In his speech the other day H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Agricultural Institute at Cawnpore, deplored the fact that while the institute is attended by a good number of interested students yet not one of the actual *bona fide* agricultural class has joined the college. The same holds good of the Agricultural Institute at Pusa. The Free and Compulsory Primary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale is the proper remedy for this serious draw back and if it is passed it will be a great step towards the regeneration of India. In regard to want of education and poverty of Indian agriculturists it can be said that both act and react upon each other and it is therefore necessary that both of them are attacked simultaneously.

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MEDICAL AND SANITARY REFORMS.

By "AN INDIAN DOCTOR."

As law and order are the mainstays of every civilised form of Government the Civil Service of a country forms therefore the backbone of its administration, and ranks as of first importance in every discussion of administrative problems. There is thus nothing unusual in its being taken up first by the Royal Commissioners entrusted with a real and impartial enquiry into the present condition of the public services in India. But it must not be supposed that the Civil Service by itself could by any means be of much good without the active and loyal co-operation of sister services; and when, sooner or later, the Commission takes them up in their turn for enquiry it will surely come to discover facts and grievances of a more serious import than mere amusing discursions in racial eugenics. The medical service of the country in all its grades is certainly one of them; and it must be said that not only has its due claim to importance been systematically neglected in view of the undeniable fact that India is the home of almost all diseases, but that its peculiar and almost direct bearing on administration has been entirely lost sight of. Even at this distant date it is not difficult to recall how the East India Company, the predecessors of our present day Government obtained their first charter to establish trading centres in Bengal from the Mogul Emperor—Shah Jehan. It was given as a reward to Surgeon Gabriel Boughton who cured the Imperial princess. It was again another medical man—William Hamilton who cured the Emperor Farrukh Seyer, but entirely disregarding the question of personal gain, acquired the lands of Calcutta for the same Company, and thus laid the foundation of British India. But the Indian Government has done too little for the advancement of the medical science to which it thus practically owes its existence, and this indictment of indifference in the prosecution of the most necessary medical and sanitary reforms ever lies at its door and hardly bears a testimony to its gratitude. It has surely made Calcutta and equipped it with all modern luxuries, its gay surroundings and the round of state entertainments attracted moneyed people from all parts, and the landed aristocracy of Bengal in particular, who live there most of the year in luxurious indolence caring little for their miserable tenantry left to the mercy of malaria, cholera and plague. It has also bestowed the boon of local self-Government all round in haste to stifle the clamour of the political agitators, and thus failed to stipulate that its main function should be the preservation of the health of the people and sanitary improvements of their surroundings. Most of the local bodies under this regime have therefore not only failed to serve their purpose for want of this all-important guiding principle, but have actually degenerated into mere stepping stones for honours and higher civic distinctions, and dumping grounds for intellectual imbeciles and undesireables of all description. Bengal, for instance, is a notoriously unhealthy part of the country, but did the Indian Government that had its home there over 150 years ever care to seriously enquire as to how many of these self-governing bodies which impose taxes ranging from 20 to 25% on the rent valuation of dwelling houses entertained sanitary experts to advise them? Its efforts at sanitary improvements have always been spasmodic and they have now culminated into holding periodic conferences that resulted lately in an announcement of a munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 to clear the rank vegetation and jungles of Bengal!

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A peaceful development of a tropical country like India depends first and foremost upon the health of those sent out to direct its administration and natural resources, but surely next upon that of the population whose labour is required to make both successful. Thus it is not difficult to understand that every reduction in the incidence of disease and the rate of invaliding, and every life saved did not amount merely to so much human suffering averted, but it rendered more possible the agricultural and commercial development of the country which directly ensured a prosperous condition of both the state and nation's exchequer. Seeing again that a healthy body can only house a healthy mind the influence of a medical man who alleviates physical suffering and restores an individual to health must necessarily be great, for good or otherwise, not only over the mental condition of his patient, but that of those near and dear to him. But unfortunately the importance and efficiency of the agency of medical men in shaping the political ideas of the masses, they frequently come in contact with in psychological moments, have never been seriously considered from the point of view of administration. Assuredly such an agency is much more capable of doing enormous good to the state not only by imparting correct notions of peaceful citizenship and genuine loyalty but also by rounding off mental obliquities and dispelling moral aberrations than all the pulpit exhortations, schoolroom discipline, and state resolutions put together. It is therefore not a little surprising that such an array of sensible corollaries derived from mere commonplace facts concerning the medical profession should have so long eluded the intelligent grasp of the broad and sympathetic statesmanship to which the Indian Government is establishing its ever-increasing claim. But instead, the whole medical department has evidently been condemned as one of "no revenue" and made a victim of a policy of stringent economy, and thus its efficiency has been sacrificed to such an extent that as it now stands, seething with grave discontent throughout its ranks, it is hardly capable of doing much good by way of even ordinary relief, far less being fitted for such important possibilities. Yet estimable persons in authority pretend to be surprised at the fact that the benefits of the western medical science, that has been in existence in this country about three quarters of a century, have not come to be appreciated by the masses as well as they should ; and with a seeming solicitude befitting their position of responsibility have now devised peripatetic dispensaries to wear down their so-called prejudices by reaching pills, tabloids, and aseptic surgery to their homes. But the analogy of the Egyptian flying columns for the cure of ophthalmia on which they have evidently been started is far from correct in as much as Ram Bux, though illiterate, happens to be a much more intelligent individual than the African aboriginies, or at any rate shrewd enough to know what is good for him. It would not be amiss to mention that a European medical officer practising in Southern India expressed himself not long ago to the effect that the unpopularity of the western medical science wherever it existed, did not really mean the presumed indolence and apathy of the populace or their inherent prejudices against it, but amounted to an admission of incapacity and inefficiency of the medical agency employed to disseminate its benefits ; or else it would never have been possible for him to draw poor patients from distant Singapore and Penang who sometimes parted with their last possession to pay a passage to his clinique. Again on the face of such a commonplace fact that the masses readily resort to distant law courts to seek redress it is idle to hypothecate that long distances can stand in the way of their availing themselves of medical relief, if really efficacious. The philosophic statesmanship of Lord Morley

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conceived that the evil lay in the I. M. S. alone, and that it could be easily remedied by lopping it off to some extent and fostering an independant medical profession. But in the light of the difficult experiences of his lordship's able colleague—the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the independant medical profession in connection with the National Insurance Act it is hoped that his Lordship may have considerably modified his strong view about the latter, and has come to be convinced of the greater importance and necessity of a constituted medical service from an administrative stand point. The canker of unpopularity cannot surely be attributed to any such extraneous and far-fetched causes, but, as has already been said, underlies the service agency itself ; and the only chance of removing it effectually therefore lies in executing well considered reforms regarding the pay, prospects and status throughout its ranks, beginning specially at the bottom. There is also a loud cry all round that the Indian bar is getting swamped with a large number of lawyers every year, and that failures amongst them are swelling the band of discontented politicians. The reason of this ever increasing congestion is obvious. The brilliant career of a fair number of them stimulates the aspiration of every intelligent young Indian, while on the contrary the miserable career of the medical men in general deters them from entering the so-called noble profession. And a greater proof of the unpopularity of the Indian medical profession as a career will not be needed than the fact that not even five per cent of the Indian medical men, and fewer still of the I.M.S officers, ever hink of advising their own children to enter it. The urgent need of reforms in the medical services thus derives an added weight and importance from the fact that it has now become a question of necessity to remove congestion in the other professional ranks, and to correspondingly decrease the number of malcontents.

Before however formulating a scheme of reforms it is necessary to investigate the real causes that directly determine so urgent that the services were capable of making a large addition to their income by private practices has lost all its force with the increasing growth of the independant profession and the more stringent conditions imposed upon them, on the other, the salaries fixed more than half a century ago are obviously inadequate to meet the increased cost of living. These are therefore the two correlated cardinal factors underlying the entire question which cannot surely be solved either by changing the designation of the poorly paid subordinates, or holding up before them the more remote benefits of a local registration act, devising a meagre time scale of pay like that of the government ministerial staff for the Indian medical graduates; or even by conferring the privileges of a first class district officer on the Indian Civil Surgeons with prospects of a magnificent salary of Rs. 350 per month !

Now the next of the causes involves the equally important question of the present inefficient condition of the Service which is at once referrable to a faulty and out-of-date organisation necessitating not only a separation of the civil from the military but also that of the medical from the sanitary services.

In the sequence of importance the health of the Indian army surely heads the list. It should have a separate Military Medical Service of its own to be named the Indian Army Medical Corps I. A. M. C. corresponding to the R. A. M. C. for the British army, under control of the P. M. O to His Majesty's Indian Army open to all natural born subject of His Majesty and recruited by competition in England. It should also have a reserve of not more than 15% of the total strength of its cadre to be accommodated in all the provincial jail departments

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as Superintendents of central prisons, for these are the only civil institutions to which a competent knowledge of military discipline and hygiene can have its most useful application. These jail appointments for the reserve I. A. M. C. should ordinarily be filled by officers comparatively junior in rank with the exception of those of the Inspectors-General of Prisons to be held by senior officers of the same service. The scale of pay should be the same as that of the present military section of the I.M.S.; but when transferred to the civil as reserve should have, besides free quarters, an additional allowance ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 as compensation for the staff and other military allowances. Besides introducing the proposed Station Hospital System with a view to afford a wider and better scope for professional work a Central Military Medical School attached to a large station hospital should also be opened and manned entirely by the I.A.M.C. officers who will thus not only be enabled to keep abreast of the latest advances in the medical science for purposes of teaching, but also have the advantage of training their own men, specially in military discipline in which, as at present turned out of the several civil medical schools, they are found to be largely wanting.

Next a provision has also to be made for a reserve of the subordinates attached to the British Army hospitals in India (Military Assistant Surgeon—I.S. M.D.) and it can similarly be accommodated in the jail department as subordinates in medical charge of the big central prison hospitals instead of 2 or 3 unwilling civil sub-assistant surgeons, as at present employed. They should also be junior in the warrant rank, and be given an additional allowance of Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 compensation against the military hospital sub-charge allowance. The present arrangement of dignifying perforce these subordinates of the British Army hospital, who do not possess a registerable qualification, into Civil Surgeons besides being absurdly retrograde constitutes a serious grievance to the Indian Medical graduates who are made to serve under them, in spite of their possessing superior qualifications registerable under the British Medical Act. The General Medical Council of Great Britain having so recently as 8th June, 1912 declared their final refusal to recognise the qualifications of these Military Assistant Surgeons, there appears no object in getting them registered under a local Medical act, like the Sub-Assistant Surgeons, with a view to perpetuating the wrong. The British Medical Act has surely a value of its own, and it is indeed a little extraordinary that when there is a loud cry for a hall-mark of British standard all round it should not be insisted upon in the case of such an important and responsible office as that of a district medical officer. Again the military sections of the Indian University Medical Colleges besides causing a great overcrowding at once detrimental to efficient teaching are admittedly a serious handicap for pursuing a more advanced course of scientific studies required by the civil medical students preparing for the university degrees. They can with great advantage be amalgamated for the purpose of opening a central military medical college attached to large British station hospital, and manned by the R. A. M. C. Officers, who will surely welcome such a facility for training their own men, and greatly appreciate the excellent opportunity for specialisation thus afforded.

The Indian Medical Service—I. M. S. should constitute a covenanted medical service, entirely civil, and analogous to the I. C. S., open to all natural born subject of His Majesty, and recruited for only two-thirds of the number of vacancies by a competitive examination held annually in England, followed by a year of satisfactory probation of the approved candidates, as assistant, in one of the London hospitals. The appointments open to the service will be two-thirds of all the Civil

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Surgeoncies ; the Principalships and two-thirds of the professorships of the University Medical Colleges, administrative charges of the provincial and presidency medical establishments and the directorship of the whole service under the Imperial Government. The scale of pay should be from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,200 by a triennial increment of Rs. 100.

	R.	a.	p.
As Principal Medical College should have an additional allowance of	400	0	0
As Professor or a Specialist	300	0	0
As Inspector-General of the provincial Medical establishments a consolidated pay of	2,000	0	0
As Deputy Director General of the Presidency Medical establishment	2,500	0	0
As Director General under the Imperial Government ...	3,000	0	0

The proposed scale of pay thus briefly outlined involves no drastic changes in the emoluments at present received by the I. M. S. officers in civil employ. The only departure contemplated is a divorce of the military title ; and excepting purely sentimental reasons, it cannot surely mean a serious calamity, either from a social or a professional point of view, seeing that neither the social status of the Indian Civil Servants, nor the enviable professional reputation of the "Misters" and "Doctors" of Harley Street and Cavendish Square has so far suffered for want of a military rank.

An uncovenanted Medical Service should comprise a certain number of listed appointments to be filled by judicious selection from amongst the Civil Assistant Surgeons of approved merits on completion of 15 years of service in the Provincial cadre. It is however important to note that in the absence of a direct recruitment to its ranks, it bears no analogy either with the now extinct service of the same name, or with the Statutory Civil Service that has been generally condemned. Such listed appointments should include one-third of all the civil Surgeoncies, as also a third of the professorship of the University Medical Colleges ; and the Superintendentships of all the Civil Medical Schools to be converted into whole time appointments in the interest of medical education The scale of pay should range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 700 by an annual increment of Rs. 50 beginning with the 16th year of service. As professor of a medical college or superintendent of school an additional allowance of Rs. 300 should be given. The qualifying period for pension should be reduced to 25 years.

The Civil Assistant Surgeons having the same gazetted rank as the subordinate judges, munsiffs, and deputy collectors of the provincial Civil Service should also have their service designated correspondingly the Provincial Medical Service. It should, as at present, be recruited from amongst the Indian Medical graduates according to the number of vacancies. The appointments open to them should also remain the same as at present, *viz.*, the medical charges of the district and important sub-divisional hospitals as well as the lecturership of the medical schools demonstratorships of the medical colleges. The scale of pay must however be substantially improved, and should in all fairness range from Rs. 150 to Rs. 400 by a four-yearly increment of Rs. 50 without any professional test. The qualifying period of service for pension should also be reduced to 25 years, seeing that by far the majority of the incumbents have to enter it rather late in life necessitated by a longer and

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more arduous course of professional studies after attaining to a high standard in preliminary education and that they have to work without any holidays throughout their career. Seeing again that they are trusted with amputation knives a foot long and the most deadly poisons that would kill half the district population in a few minutes it is not very evident why the Government should withhold from them the privilege of exemption from the Arms Act accorded to the gazetted Officers of all other departments. The distinction thus being an invidious one, at once affecting their status as trusted servant of the crown, should certainly be removed.

The Subordinate Medical Service should comprise the Sub-Assistant Surgeons in charge of the mufassil branch dispensaries. They are certainly the most deserving class of medical men with whom really rests the most important function of extending the benefits of the western medical science to the masses. Their present pay and prospects being ridiculously low-scaled and hopelessly poor, the service fails to attract the right stamp of men and consequently a large majority of them being always at pains to make a living, are inclined, through sheer necessity, to play the role of amateur "Vaids" and "Hakims" even to the extent of condemning the western medical science, and thus lowering its efficacy in popular estimation. Their scale of pay therefore is in urgent need of revision. To meet their legitimate aspiration and to attract a better class of men it should range from Rs. 40 to Rs. 150. The promotion should at first be regulated by a quinquinial increment of Rs. 20 up to a limit of Rs. 100 based on the results of periodic professional tests of a more practical nature than they are required to undergo at present; and beyond 20 years of service, by an annual increment of Rs. 10 determined by careful selection, to Rs. 150 such further advancement being however limited to only a fourth of the total strength of the service. The qualifying period for pension 30 years needs however to change in their case seeing that they can easily attain to the required standard of preliminary and professional education comparatively early in life.

If it be true that "prevention is better than cure" then surely the Sanitation Department deserves a higher place in the Royal Commissioner's list than the lowest to which it has been relegated for purposes of an enquiry. As compared with the immense benefits that India has derived from a gradual introduction of all kinds of British institutions that of local self-government has proved a dismal failure. Were it not for this unfortunate fact the country could not have been found so hopelessly unprepared against the appalling ravages of the plague. While it amounts to an extravagant expectation that the imperial or the provincial government should extend its substantial support for combating every spell of epidemic diseases, ill advised attempts at charging it with negligence or fastening a blame for high mortality are not infrequently made in the event of its failing to open the treasury doors sufficiently wide to redeem the senseless bankruptcy of the municipal bodies. The local self-government Act is therefore in need of an urgent revision seeing that by far the large majority of the municipal bodies have not only proved failures in respect of profitably husbanding their resources to the benefit of the people, but also that they have shown an amount of indifference to the subject of sanitation and public health that can easily be referred to a deplorable want of a correct appreciation of this most important item of civic responsibilities. The act should be so modified as to make it incumbent on these local bodies a compulsory entertainment of qualified health officers and trained sanitary inspectors and at the same time extending to them the privileges and status of

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executive officials whose expert advices in matters concerning sanitation and prevention of diseases should be considered as final, and subject only to a revision by the administrative head of the sanitary departments, and not to that of the lay members constituting the boards. While again it is idle to expect that district medical officers who are already overwhelmed with heavy professional and multifarious other duties could satisfactorily discharge the important functions of sanitary advisors, it is equally unavailing to promise that the present uninviting prospects of temporary health appointments under lay control, and an utter absence of any towards earning a pension, could afford sufficient inducement to men of the right stamp in making a choice for them as a career. The need for a regular sanitary service must therefore be obvious, and it should be constituted as a separate entity in itself on the lines proposed for the medical service, the cost of which, excepting the pay of the administrative heads, should be borne by the local bodies. Besides, its control should lie directly with the government, and not, as at present obtains, through a meaningless mediation of the medical department. The departmental heads should at the same time be given seats in the provincial councils so that they may thus be enabled to participate in their important legislative deliberations.

An Indian Sanitary Service—I. M. S. should be a convenanted service open to all natural born subjects of His Majesty possessing a British Diploma in Health, recruited annually by competition in England according to the number of vacancies and followed by a period of six months' satisfactory probation of the approved candidates under the health department of London County Council. The appointments open to them will be two-thirds of all the Municipal health officerships, as also of the Deputy Sanitary Commissionerships, the Sanitary Commissionerships of the provincial sanitary establishments, the Deputy Director-Generalship of Sanitation of the presidency establishments, and Director-Generalship of Sanitation under the Imperial government. The scale of pay should range from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,300 by a triennial increment of Rs. 100 :—

	Rs.
As a Deputy Sanitary Commissioner	1,500
As a Sanitary Commissioner	1,800
As Deputy Director-General of Sanitation	2,000
As Director-General of Sanitation	2,500

An uncovenanted Sanitary Service should comprise a certain number of listed appointments including one-third of the Municipal health officerships as also a third of the Deputy Sanitary Commissionerships which should be filled by a selection from amongst the Assistant Health officers of approved merits after completion of 10 years service in the provincial cadre. The scale of pay should range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 by annual increment of Rs. 50 beginning with the 11th year of service; and as Deputy Sanitary Commissioner Rs. 1,200 the period qualifying for pension being 25 years.

A provincial sanitary service should include the Assistant Health officers. It should be recruited from amongst the Indian medical graduates possessing a Diploma of Health of one of the Indian Universities. They are to be attached to the less important municipalities under control of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners of respective circles. Their scale of pay should range from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 by a four yearly increment of Rs. 50 the period qualifying for pension being 25 years.

A Subordinate Sanitary Service should include the appointments of the trained Sanitary Inspectors. Their course of training should extend over two years after passing the Matriculation test of an Indian University. They are to be employed in all Act XX towns and important urban areas under control of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners besides being Assistants to Health officers of the bigger municipalities. Their scale of pay should range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. The promotion should at first be regulated by a quinquinial increment of Rs. 25 based on the results of periodic tests in practical hygiene up to Rs. 125 but further advancement by an annual increment of Rs. 15 to Rs. 200 should be determined by selection and limited to one-fourth of the total strength of the service; the qualifying period for pension being 30 years.

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THE WOMEN OF BURMA.

By Mg. THAN MAUNG.

COMPARED to the average women of India, the women of Burma may be said to be as free as air and as happy as any woman can be. It has often been said by writers on Burma that Buddhism, and Buddhism alone, has formed the character of the Burmese woman and has made her life happy, busy and intellectual, and I think that there is much force in the remark. It may safely be said that the women of Burma occupy a position in life which their Indian sisters might well envy. I do not propose to tender any advice to my Indian readers as to how to work out a similar emancipation for many of their women, like the Japanese gentleman who exhorted Indians to abolish the caste-system if they want to be as great a people as the Japanese. This article being more of a descriptive nature than of a reflective or controversial one, I think I had better leave the sort of advice, given by the above mentioned gentleman, to philosophers of his school.

As Sir George Scott observes in his book on Burma, "there is no difference between man and man but that which established by superiority of virtue; and hence it is of the state of women amongst Buddhists, is so very much higher than it is amongst Oriental peoples who do not hold that faith. The Burmese women enjoy many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for," while men of light and leading in many other countries, both in the East and in the West, are even now preaching for the raising of the status of their women and the law of work for them, the people of Burma already have, among their women, those, managing large business concerns. Burmese women there are who are engaged in extensive rice and timber trades, managing most up-to-date printing presses, doing an extensive mining businesses, developing the oil industry and, in Rangoon in particular, we have Burmese women running a daily newspaper. Indeed, these are indications showing, as they do, that the Burmese woman's freedom equals that of the Burmese male; nor is this freedom of the woman a modern growth. Researches made by advanced Orientalists, such as those of the Burma Research Society bring to light the fact that the freedom of the Burmese woman is of a very ancient type or as Sir Harvey Adamson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, puts it, that suffragettes had been in existence in Burma long before they made their appearance in the west.

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Another indication of this freedom is the fact that the Burmese woman is often the bread-winner of the family, sometimes a large one, including her husband—a fact which, to some extent, justifies the common saying of not a few English and Indian writers on Burma that this is "a land where men loll and women work."

As regards the Burmese wife, her relation to her husband might fairly well be gauged from the following facts. On the strength of the Burmese Dhammathats (which, by the way are said to have a Hindu origin) a high judicial authority has held that in case of divorce by mutual consent the husband and wife equally divide between themselves their joint property, both moveable and immoveable. It has also been held by a legal authority (and that on the strength of the customary law of the Burmese) that a second marriage without the first wife's consent constitutes a ground for the wife to claim divorce from the husband.

As regards the practice of polygamy among the Burmese people, I may say that I am at one with the learned writer who says, "On grounds of authority, the opinions of the learned judges and the teachings of morality, it may be said that among Burman Buddhists, a man cannot take a lesser wife without the first wife's consent and against her will and that if he does he commits a grave matrimonial offence as would entitle her to a divorce."

As to the inheritance of the wife from the husband or *vice versa*, the legal maxim that "husband and wife are heirs to each other" holds good among the Burmese people, on the death of either husband or wife, the survivor inherits his or her separate property and the joint property of the marriage, the eldest child alone, if any, having a right to claim a quarter share from the survivor. The union of the Burmese husband and wife, being treated as a partnership, the husband cannot alienate joint property without the wife's consent—another illustration of the free-as-air Burmese woman's relation to the Burmese male. It has been judicially recognized that under the Burmese Buddhist Law, a wife can alienate her separate property without her husband's consent—here again another illustration of the freedom of the Burmese woman.

While writing on the subject of the women of Burma, I may also describe the custom among the Burmese of marriage and giving in marriage. Every writer on Burma has commented on the extreme freedom of marriage among the people of this country. The Burmese girl shows a perfectly catholic taste in the matter of

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her choice of a male. She is as ready to marry a Hindu or any of the other Indian races who come to Burma as she is to marry an Englishman, if it suits her turn. One result of this is the great number of hybrid and indeterminate tribes which have developed forms of speech of their own dialects that have dignified with the names of languages. (O! how I wish the caste-system which Indian patriots write so much against, were prevalent in Burma to prevent my country-women from marrying foreigners, weakening my race from year to year!) As in India and other Oriental countries, marriage arrangements are becoming as purely a commercial matter as possible. The present-day maiden, or at least her guardians, are more concerned with whether the bride-groom is a passed F. A., or a failed B. A., than whether they love each other.

Though marriage is very free in Burma it seems at first sight singular to find that there are far more married persons in India than in Burma. Among the women of the two countries, the difference is very noticeable. In Burma there are only 344 per thousand against 519 in India. But this is, some think, because of the marriage of the Indian girl being an absolute necessity if the parents are not to be disgraced and the ancestors left to wander in shameful fashion about the waste places of the earth. Again in India ten per cent. of the girls between the ages of five and ten are already married. In Burma only one male and seven females per thousand of each sex are married, whereas in India the proportion is a hundred and four males and four hundred and twenty-three females. To a large extent, I think, the difference is due to the Indian practice of child marriage and infant-marriage which strictly speaking do not exist in Burma proper. The proportion of widows in the two countries is 180 per thousand in India and 105 per thousand in Burma where there are absolutely no restrictions preventing widows from re-marrying. In India widows are to be found one in the thousand among infants under five and the number of widows under fifteen is twenty-four in the thousand, whereas in Burma, there are none at all. In England there are 357 married women in the thousand whereas in Burma there are 389 in the thousand.

In countries like India and Turkey, the reverence for the past has been so great that it is difficult to raise the status of women within a short space of time. With reference to the women of Turkey, a Turkish officer once said, "We want a companion and

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not a slavish creature, terrified of divorce and the fear of starvation if she has not a man to support her. How dull our evenings are! All my brother officers tell me the same: the monotony, the lassitude, which we endure with these ignorant women who do not even know how to attract our senses. We never talk of serious things with our wives for they only reply, 'yes; you are quite right.'" I think the position of the average Indian woman is not much above that of her Turkish sister, compared to them, the women of Burma is indeed one of the freest of the free women on earth, or as a writer on Burma has said, she is the most independent of the world's women.

While the freedom of the Burmese woman is enviable to a large extent, it also brings, peculiar drawbacks in its train. The number of mixed marriages between the Burmese women and foreigners has been increasing by leaps and bounds and in the interests of the Burmese race the contraction of such marriages is most undesirable. The last census shows that the number of pure Burmans is decreasing which is, in the main, attributable to the contraction of marriages between aliens and the women of Burma, which again is attributable to the great attractiveness and freedom of the Burmese women. The attractiveness of these women may be gauged from the fact that warnings have to be issued at the Burma Secretariat to every officer arriving in the Province, regarding the attraction and allurement of the women of the country. As a brown Mongolian, the Burmese woman is not beautiful, as some Indian women are, but every visitor to Burma rightly admits that she is highly attractive and alluring.

As regards literacy among the women of Burma, it may be said that its standard is fairly high. There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are illiterate. At an early age the girls go to their school and learn to read and write, the scriptures in Burmese, or sometimes in Burmanized Pali, forming the basis of their studies. From such a source it is that there come the teachings of generosity, cheerfulness and kindliness which are admittedly the most eminent traits in the character of the Burmese woman. At school or sometimes at a nunnery they learn the five duties of a wife, namely, to properly manage her household, to be a hospitable housewife, to be a faithful wife, a thrifty house-keeper and a diligent gentlewoman. Together with such instruction in ethics, they receive a practical training in the ways of homelife. From an early age, too, the Burmese girl helps her parents in their business whether it is selling in the bazaar, cultivating the paddy or keeping a shop. Most of all they learn at school or nunnery, the lesson of being generous and charitable in which as a writer puts it, the Burmese women far surpass those of any other nation. There it is also that they learn how to make offerings of flowers and lights at the shrines on sacred days, to give food to the priests, cooked for them before the dawn, as the latter go their daily rounds through the village, and to share the little pleasures that are so much to children with their playmates and the poor.

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THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE QUESTION.

By Mr. H. A. ANSARI, B. A., Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

THE appointment of the Public Service Commission has been hailed with delight by all sections of public opinion in India with the exception of the European official and mercantile communities whose opposition needs little explanation or comment, as the slightest concession to Indian demands, however just they may be, means a corresponding contraction of the European's avenues of employment. The Anglo-Indian Press received the news of the Commission's appointment with indifference, and its subsequent proceedings have met with their unqualified condemnation, as raking up the hurried controvercies of decades past. The reason is that they are afraid that the members of the present Commission mean business, and that they may be impressed by the unanimous demand by the majority of the Indian witnesses including Mussalmans, they have examined, for simultaneous examinations, and that it may possibly report to His Majesty's Government in its favour. It is a welcome sign of the times that with the exception of the Burmese witnesses, who have naturally no sympathy with Indian aspirations and who have borne no share in our struggles for the recognition of our inalienable rights as British citizens, all Indian gentlemen hitherto examined by the Commissioners have unhesitatingly declared themselves in favour of larger and more extensive employment of Indians in all branches of the Civil Service. It is our purpose to examine how this unanimity of views has been produced in the short space of a quarter of a century, *i.e.*, between 1887 and 1913, and how the Public Service question has assumed such a prominent aspect in Indian politics.

Our enquiries would lead us far back into the Moghal times, when no distinction of race, creed or colour was made in the distribution of State patronage and ability was the sole test of employment under the Government. The Europeans were strict Mussalmans and Islam was the state religion, but those of their subjects who professed other creeds had free access to the highest offices in the State. They controlled important departments of the Central Government, commanded large armies, and ruled as Governors even in such provinces as Bengal and Afghanistan. The much maligned Aurangzeb himself employed Rajput Generals in the subjugation of the Mussalman Kingdoms of the Deccan and upheld the liberal traditions of his forefathers, though we are assured to the contrary by the European critics. I can not refrain here from referring to an episode which shows how unbiassed he was in this matter. Two Parsis were appointed to certain posts under his Government, and some envious persons objected to the employment of fireworshippers under an orthodox Moslem King.

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The great Emperor gently rebuked them by saying that so long as a man did his duty loyally he did not care what his particular religious beliefs were, as they were no concern of the State.

On the disruption of the Moghal Empire, these traditions of toleration and mutual goodwill were carried on by the several Hindu and Moslem states which rose out of its ashes. The Moslem states of the Deccan had from the earliest times employed Hindus in all capacities, high and low, and the existing dynasty of Hydrabad has maintained the same liberal attitude towards them, so that Hindus alternate with Mussalmans in holding the highest appointments in the State. The impartiality of its rulers is greatly responsible for the happy and amicable relations existing between the different communities in Hyderabad. Hindu rulers have similarly reposed their entire confidence in Mussalman ministers, and it is no insignificant fact that a number of Hindu states in Northern India have Mussalman Prime Ministers. Even the Sikhs employed Mussalmans in responsible positions during their rule in the Punjab and Sivaji's artillery was commanded by a Mussalman.

Nurtured on these liberal traditions it is natural that Indians chafe under the artificial restrictions that have been put on their advancement to the highest offices under the British Government in spite of Imperial and statutory assurances that race, creed and colour would be no bar to employment under the Government of India, but that fitness alone would be the deciding test. In the earlier stages of the British occupation of the country, when their Empire had not yet consolidated, the exclusion of Indians from high offices under the State was justifiable, as they had, had no opportunty to assimilate the spirit of British rule, and were ignorant of the language, literature and tradition of their rulers. But after a century of contact between the two races these conditions have been naturally altered, and thanks to a liberal system of education manginated by far-seeing British Statesmen, Indians have imbibed western culture to an appreciable extent, and are daily more and more conforming to the European standard of conduct and judgment.

It is true that the majority of subordinate posts in the civil administration of the country are held by Indians, but their contention is that they are excluded from exercising their higher mental faculties by being entrusted with more responsible work. For after all what have officers of the subordinate service to do but obeying the behests of their superiors and carrying them into execution. They have no powers of initiation or control, and are thus reduced to mere automatics in the hands of their European superiors. Such a state of affairs cannot but have a deteriorative influence on national character, as Government service attracts the strongest and most virile minds in India. In the defence of the existing system, it is often urged by its advocates with great show of plausibility that Indians as a race are lacking in those qualities of self-control, resourcefulness and promptness which go to make a successful executive officer, and that as a consequence an

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influx of Indians into the Indian Civil Service, will lower the tone of the administration, and the peace and prosperity of India may be jeopardised. This has been the burden of the evidence of the European witnesses hitherto examined by the Commission. But how far is this intolerant attitude compatible with actual and indisputible facts?

It may possibly be true that one or two Indian officers may have been found wanting in tact and resourcefulness when confronted with a dangerous crisis, but is this not equally true of British officers, the only difference being that their backsprings do not come to light through the indulgence of the Anglo-Indian Press and their official superiors. The number of Indians in the Indian Civil Service is almost insignificant, and the presence of one or two black sheep among them may give a bad name to the whole lot of them. But in spite of the heavy odds against which they have to contend in the discharge of their official duties, many of them have distinguished themselves in the service. The case of the Provincial Service men promoted to the listed posts is altogether different. They are appointed to district charges when they are past their prime and the habit of servitude has become ingrained in their character. Hence it is not to be wandered that they prove inefficient in the discharge of their duties. But these premises can not go to prove conclusively the incapacity of Indians for being entrusted with responsible duties, and if we go beyond British territory we find Indians directing the destinies of large numbers of people without prejudice to their moral and material interests. In the Native States indigenous talent finds ample room for expanding its powers and proving to the sceptics that it is capable of being entrusted with the highest functions of Government. The records and achievements of Sir Salar Jung, Sir Madhava Row, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, Sir Dinkar Row and Mr. R. C. Dutt and a host of others prove that Indians are not only not lacking in the highest administrative ability, but that given the opportunity they can prove themselves statesmen of no mean calibre.

It is therefore not to be wondered that educated Indians who take an intelligent interest in the welfare of their country view with alarm the continuation of the unjustifiable policy of deliberately excluding the children of the soil from controlling and directing the administration of their own country, as it will ultimately reduce them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, and result in a permanent stunting of the natural character, from which it would take centuries of self-improvement to recover. The agitation for the reform of the condition of entry into the various Indian Services, which is daily gathering in volume and intensity, is based on no mere sentimental grievances or the alleged selfishness of the educated classes, as is insidiously suggested in interested quarters, but on the irresistable conclusion to which the leaders of light in the various Indian communities and the public at large have arrived that any postponement of the solution of this all-important question would prove disastrous both to the interests of the people of India and the ruling power.

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The position of the members of the present commission is very delicate. On the one hand they are faced with the solid phalanx of Anglo-Indian opinion, official and non-official, which refuses to yield an inch of ground to Indian aspirations. On the other hand the various Indian communities present a united front in demanding the unequivocal recognition of their right to compete on equal terms with their European fellow-subjects for admission into the various Indian services, by the institute of simultaneous examinations and the doing away of all restrictions that exist on the employment of non-Europeans. They have begun to realise that the throwing open of the portals of the Indian Civil Service to their young men is not merely a question of bread and butter or of the draining away of the slender resources of their impoverished country by the employment of an expensive foreign agency, but that their very national existence as a free and independent people is threatened, and hence they will not desist from carrying on the agitation till this iniquitious monopoly is swept away. The Commissioners will also carefully note that in 1887 a large portion of the people of India including the important Mussalman minority were callous to the interests of their country, and were taken in by the hue and cry raised by the Anglo-Indian press that simultaneous examination would only mean the replacement of British officials by Bengalis. But now with their rapid advance in education the Mussalmans can see that they will equally and to the best of their ability share in any concession made to the people of India as a whole. There is thus no loop-hole to which the apologists for the continuation of the present methods can point in the position taken up by the Indian people, and the Government and the Commission should mark the situation carefully.

The recognition of Indian claims, which are based on solemn promises and declarations, would be a most graceful act on the part of the Home Government, and thus a painful and long-standing controversy, which has unduly restrained the harmony which should exist between Englishman and Indians, be closed for ever. But if on the contrary the labours of the present Commission leave the people of India in the same sad plight as did its predecessor, we are afraid their long-suffering endurance would be unduly taxed, and the more impatient among them would lose their faith in the vaunted beneficence of British rule. But we earnestly hope that these fears would be belied, and the spirit of compromise, which is the special characteristic of the British people, would ultimately assert itself, and this question would reach a solution satisfactory to the people of India, without affecting British supremacy in the country.

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BUILDING OF THE INDIAN NATION

By Mr. W. S. NAIDU.

IT has been constantly dinned into our ears that India like Italy of old is only "Geographical expression." Italy which was no nation, has been knit into one during living memory. Indian young men, who are in the prime of life now and will take a long time before they can realize the meaning of what is called "The battle of life," will find Indian nation and united India as accomplished facts ere they grow grey with age. In passing it may also be remarked that Germany only a congeries of states warring with one another has now grown into a nation. It should not be deemed an utopian vision, when we instil hope in the Indian mind regarding the formation of Indian nation and believe it possible for India to accomplish, what Germany and Italy have so signally achieved.

What are the requisites for the formation of a nation? According to Mrs. Besant the three chief requisites are :—

(1) A convenient and defensible area.
(2) Pride in a common past.
(3) Hope for a common future.

If these things are possible in India the building of the Indian nation can be realized.

(1) India is a peninsula and the sea girts it on three sides. And on the fourth huge mountains, which can be rendered impregnable guard it. No human mind can conceive the magnificence of structure, the grandness of scenery the Himalayas present ; and no human hand can build such a stately structure as the Himalayas. India has been aptly called "a cradle of races" for she has been the centre to which various races have converged. And no united nation there was within to offer a bold front and resist their onslaught. India has always been conquerred by her own children uniting with the invaders. In the words of Mrs. Beasant she has always been conquered by the Indian sword.

(2) Next we pass on to the second requisite essential for the formation of a nation. We ask, can India with her warring races feel a pride in the common past? History tells us that the Maharatta was against the Rajaput—the Punjabi versus the Bengali, and the Bengali versus the Hindustani. In short internecine wars were in their full swing causing the various races to live in a bitter state of animosity. Under such conditions can India feel a pride in the common past? Yes we say. History speaks of people notably the Prussians and Nepolitians with divergent views and feuds, who have sunk all their differences and have become an organized whole.

"All nations in making are smelt in the furnace of war and hammered on the anvil of battle" says Mrs. Beasant. A very remarkable statement indeed! These are necessary to the making up of a nation. When the idea of nationality becomes dominant in the various races composed of a

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nation then the heroic deeds wrought on both sides, before they were knit into a nation will be venerated. Thus a pride in the glorious past will be generated.

We think it to be a source of advantage that nations should be composed of diverse elements. Tennyson that master mind, pays a glowing tribute to the splendid manner in which the English have grown into a nation, though they were composed of divergent races,—in the following line:—

"Saxon and Normans and Danes are we" It may be said the bitter memories of persecution, obloquy which the various races cherish, will be a stumbling block to a united nation in India. For the matter of that India has witnessed no more persecutions than Europe and the lines of persecution are not identical. All have settled down now in Europe amicably as peaceful citizen of the Empire. When national interests are at a stake and danger is impending, you will find, whether he be a Catholic, Anglican or Protestant, rising up as one man. Such is the glow of national fervour.

In order to instil a hope for a common future in all Indian hearts, patriotic literature venerating the greatness of the motherland—ignoring racial differences, should flood the country, Ideas of Nationality must be spread over the whole country before they can become actual facts. From the world of ideas we must descend into real facts. We now arrive at a stage when it behoves us to think of the means that ought to be adopted for the building up of the Indian Nation.

History teaches us that ideals must be preached before they can receive a practical shape. Italian writers wrote in glowing terms of the would be greatness of Italy, when she was in a backward state. The ideas they preached took effect and influenced the nation. The heart of the nation beat high and a responsive thrill was evoked in the nation. We find heroes like Mazini and Garibaldi arising and giving a practical shape to the ideas. So must it be with India also. Ideals of the motherland must be spread far and wide by writings and all must work for the good of the country and must not jeopardize larger and more important interests at stake.

In showing and dwelling upon a common past we must take the help of education. "History in its present form" says Mrs. Beasant "is dry as dust." And does not generate enthusiasm in the hearts of the readers. Indians must write Histories, of their own speaking in glowing terms of Indian heroes. Every Indian girl and boy should be made to look upon Akbar, Ahalayabai, Chand Bibi as examples worthy of admiration and imitation. They were the creators of India and every Indian heart must aglow with enthusiasm at the very mention of the names. History must be taught in this way and we shall be able to "breed patriots." It is not necessary that there should be separate colleges for each community for it tends to divide the Indians. Boys of different religions can be made to study together and in the hour prescribed for religious instruction they might form different groups. Boys of each faith should have boarding houses attached to Schools and Colleges.

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Religion and morality must go hand in hand. The one cannot be divorced from the other. "It should be taught that religion in its spiritual essence is one and indivisible, and that the various religions are merely the intellectual representations of one basic Truth" says Mrs. Beasant.

College students should be encouraged to take a warm interest in the studying, and debating of social, economic, national and municipal questions. Municipal politics afford a best field in a miniature form for the training of men to become citizens of the empire. Those who are not fit to deal in a smaller area, will find it no easy task to deal in larger and more important affairs of the empire. Eminent English statesmen like Chamberlain and Gladstone owed their success in Parliament to the training received in municipal politics. Students should be trained in the management of atheltic clubs and associations. In these the professor must help and should not control. There may be many false starts but the professor by his wise counsel should encourage and instil hope in the minds of the pupils. The present day system of education widens the gulf between the teacher and the pupil, for they meet only in the class room. It is a move in the right direction that the university commission should insist upon a residential system of boarding houses and a compulsory residence in them. The personality of a teacher is very essential in the formation of the character of his pupils. We want men—men with power of inspiration like Green, Jeweet, Nettleship and Gopal Row. The teacher should hold lofty ideals before the admiring gaze of his puplis for imitation and admiration.

A common language has been a longfelt want in this country. For healthy intercourse and free inter-communication among the various races a common script is essential. It is obvious that the script ought to be Devanegri. In the words of Mrs. Beasant :—"The northern vernaculars can be read with fair facility by any one who knows of them well, if written in a common script, so alike are they." "In the south also Devanagiri can be accepted for the Majority of Hindus know Sanskrit It is really stretching a point too far to ask the Telugu, Tamil, Bengali and Maharatti speaking population to give up their literature so rich in store for it would be making the nation poorer. With a view to arrive at National unity we may impress on them the imperative need of learning Hindi as a second language. If this is not done, as sure as night follows day, English will become the common language of India.

Under the stress of modern civilisation the Indians are deteriorating in physique. But however it is gratifying to find that in some parts of India notably Bengal the significance of *mensen in corpore sana* has been brought home to them. As an outcome of it we find athelitic institutions are fast coming into prominence. The following extract from Mrs. Beasant is full of pregnant remarks and is worth noting in full :—

"Strength of body and of mind, noble character, wide and gracious piety, these are the things necessary for the good citizens, and without good citizens there is no nation possible. Such citizens, citizens of a united India, will be citizens also of the world wide empire, which cannot exist save as a federation of free nations. The world empire now shaping must have as its contents free and self-governing nations knit in bonds of love and based on justice and mutual respect.

Of these nations India will be one and for that great part she must fit herself by building herself into a nation.

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THE
Hindustan Review.
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

EASTERN MINIATURE PAINTING—I. *

By Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc (LONDON.)

THIS splendid work in two volumes, with 276 plates and other figures in the text, is essentially a history of Persian painting. As we shall see it does not treat exhaustively of India; while the painting of Turkey is of comparatively small importance. Our plan will be here to summarise the history of Persian painting, and to treat somewhat more fully those matters which have to do with India.

We have no documents for the history of Egyptian painting for the four hundred years previous to the beginning of the twelfth century, 700—1100. Almost the only work that can be called 'Fatimid,' is perhaps the fine portrait of 'Saladin,' probably painted about 1180, and the accompanying leaves of the same manuscript. Subsequent to this we have a good many manuscripts of the Baghdad school, altogether about 15 manuscripts containing some 400 miniatures. In some of these there are resemblances to the Ajanta paintings, (particularly the lower part of the upper picture reproduced on Dr. Martin's, pl. XI

* The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey—By F. R. Martin, London, 1912, Quatitch £20.

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from the Paris manuscript of Al-hariri, known as Schefer's manuscript). But it is unlikely that there has been direct contact; "in my opinion," says Dr. Martin, "the Ajanta frescoes and Arabic painting have their origins in the same source, the inexhaustible riches of antique art", an opinion with which we should agree, if by "antique art", is meant the same as that which Okakura Kakuzo* speaks of as "Early Asiatic."* The known manuscript with miniatures, belonging to the Baghdad school, "give an extremely rich and varied image of life in the thirteenth century...,provide inexhaustible material for studying life and culture as then existing—life in town and in the country, in peace and in war, at a time not so very distant from that of the 'Arabian Nights' and the wonderful world depicted therein". The splendid draughtsmanship shows close analogies with that of the fine Raghes pottery, of which so many wonderful examples have lately found their way to Europe, and which has done so much to show the history of Persian art in its true perspective.

"In 1258 Baghdad was destroyed, and the Mongols," under Hulagu Khan, "brought a new art, the art of the Far East, into the sphere of the Near East". This is the beginning of Persian, as distinct from Arabic and antique art. For the five centuries preceding, Persia had been ravaged by internal wars, and moreover, mainly of the Sunnite persuasion, abhorring imagery; while the Baghdad art was mainly a western culture. The Mongols united all Persia under a more settled government, and bringing their own artists and works of art from China, patronised both the Chinese painters, thus introduced, and the school of imitators which soon sprang up in Persia. Characteristic of the new school are the nervous and calligraphic outlines, distinct from the broad and uniform line of the older art. But it is still distinguished and monumental, altogether superior in boldness of outline and brilliancy of colour to the latter, and now so fashionable, "super-refined scenes of Shah Abbas' time, in which the principal aim of the artist was to give elegant movement to the model and paint minutely a rich silk dress interwoven with gold". The most important manuscripts of the Mongol period are those of the Jamial-Tawarikh in Paris and London, of the late 13th and early 14th centuries respectively. The latter, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, includes illustrations, in the Persian Mongol style, of such Indian subjects as "Battle between two Heroes of the Mahabharata", "The Women who live in the Indian mountains", and the "Sacred tree of Buddha". Some of the drawings seem also to show traces of Indian influence, on which Dr. Martin remarks: the manuscript "is especially interesting because of a few nude figures which look quite Indian in pose and character. In some of the late Sassanid or very earliest Muhammadan vessels of bronze or silver, mostly found in Russia, there can clearly be discerned the same Indian style, and Indian traditions or models may very easily have been preserved in some remote part of Mesopotamia".

* Ideals of the East, 1904, Introduction.

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No further change took place in Persian art till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when fresh Chinese influence came in with Timur. "At the commencement of the fifteenth century, owing undoubtedly to Chinese influence, there arose a school of pen-and-ink drawing of extreme finish, in which as a rule, the drawings are simply heightened with a touch of gold or of colour. The two most remarkable drawings of this kind are the two warriors represented on Pl. 55. They are superb illustrations of events in the history of the great conqueror whose armies swept across Asia, and they take rank amongst the most powerful drawings yet found". The Timurids were great patrons of art.

"The most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Timur destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that would otherwise never have been created. Does not Samarqand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Timur? What he destroyed was already of itself destined to fall and Timur simply gave the mortal thrust. These Timurids were no barbarians; indeed everything goes to shew that they were highly civilised and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone, and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets...Baisuinghar, Shah Rukh, Ulugh Beg and Sultan Husain Mirza were bibliophiles, not surpassed by the Dukes of Burgundy, or by King Rene of Anjou, their contemporaries, and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only did they collect books, but they created them. Baisunghar and Husain Mirza were to Persia what William Morris was to England four hundred years later. They created a new style of book, but theirs was infinitely more aristocratic, solid and artistic. The very finest European books and manuscripts cannot, except in a very few isolated instances, bear comparison with those of the Orientals as regards the fineness of the work"

The effect of the Timurid impulse lasted all through the 16th century, and is traceable even in India, where their descendants established so brilliant an Empire at Delhi. The Timurid work is not only full of vital draughtsmanship, but in mere fineness it excels almost everything that has ever been done. It seems as if the line must have been drawn under a magnifying glass; yet this cannot have been the case and it is interesting to note that Dr. Martin explains the capacity of those artists for drawing the most delicate curves and long lines without a tremor of the hand, by the "fact that these men of yore were orthodox Mussalmans innocent of the taste of alcohol and free from the taint which it invariably exercises on the eyesight and the nervous system generally."

The later Timurid art, that is of the early sixteenth century, is best known by the fame and work of Bihzad, of Herat, the court painter of Sultan Husain Mirza and his successors; he died in 1524. Babar speaks of him long after his death as the "most eminent of all painters", while later

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still our own Abul Fazl refers to him as one whose excellence was approached by the best painters of Akbar's school; and it is true that traces of his influence survive in some early works of the Akbar period. I cannot refrain from quoting Dr. Martin's admirable picture of Bihzad himself.

"Bihzad appears to have passed his long life in Herat and Tabriz. Many readers will exclaim: 'Herat that lies in barbarous Afghanistan, where none dare travel!' It must, however, be remembered that four centuries ago Herat was one of the most important centres of an advanced civilisation in Asia. It is only necessary to read the descriptions given by the Emperor Babar of the glorious gardens with their kiosks adorned with faience, concealed under huge trees, and of the water that flowed constantly by. It was a town as beautiful and poetical as Brusa in our own days. It may well be conceived that in such surroundings artistic talents could be developed when under the patronage of such a grand seigneur as Sultan Husain Mirza.

"The enormous plane trees which have been so splendidly painted by Bihzad were observed by him day after day. The peach trees blossomed year after year in abundance, backed by a sky that was ever the same blue. The cypresses straight and proud, stood guard beside the kiosks of faience, just swaying their highest tops in the breeze. The absolute tranquillity of the East reigned over gardens and parks. The indescribable peace of the mountains of Iran, with their cool invigorating evenings, affording such full compensation for the heat of the day, gave strength for new exertion and work. The sun of the East illumined the small chamber set apart by his ruler as the dwelling place of Bihzad, and there the artist sat bending over the low desk, which in its drawers held all that he needed for the production of the masterpieces that museums of Europe will, perhaps very soon, place beside, those of the best 15th century masters of Italy and the Netherlands. Assuredly Bihzad had no studio such as European painters possessed, but simply a room with white walls whose only ornaments were texts from the Koran, written by the chief calligraphers of the East. On the floor were yellow straw mats, while in one corner were a few cushions and a carpet on which guests and admirers were invited to sit down. Beyond the doorway, in which he often sat when the daylight in the chamber was insufficient, was a garden containing a great basin of placid water reaching up to the stone edge. Trees and bushes grew so densely that it was scarcely possible to pass between them. Roses bloomed while the peaches ripened and grapes hung in profuse clusters. Thousands upon thousands of roses grew on bushes and walls so closely that no green leaf, nothing but a mass of varied hues, was visible. In such surroundings sat Bihzad working day after day, handling a brush and a pen finer than any used before or after."

Nothing can exceed the beauty and splendour of the manuscripts illuminated by Bihzad (many are ascribed to him which should not be; let collectors beware of later signatures and the work of pupils ascribed to Bihzad himself): but it is as a portrait painter that Bihzad shows his true greatness. Perhaps the finest of his portraits is that of Prince Murad Akkuyinnli, formely described as Timur of which there are many copies, those in the Bodleian and in Mr. Koechlin's collection being probably originals. Perhaps equally grand is the "Dervish from Baghdad."

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"How does the work of Bihzad and Mirak stand in comparison with the great contemporary miniaturists in Europe?" asks Dr. Martin. "It is difficult to say who is greater, Bihzad or Memling, Mirak or Jean Fouquet. They all stand on the same level—perfection. The Eastern artists are superior in the fineness of the lines, in the decorative sense, in the richness of the colours; the Europeans have more feeling in their faces, more religious sentiment, are more developed in their landscape. Perhaps the Eastern better understood what a miniature required, as their pictures belong more to the books they illustrate."

After Bihzad, Mirak is the greatest of Persian painters whose name and work are familiar to us. He was a pupil of Bihzad. "Although his figures are more lacking in movement and stiffer than those of Bihzad, they have an indescribable charm which no other Persian artist possesses: they advance as if in a solemn procession, they always appear to be enjoying themselves, but at the same time to be constantly standing on their dignity anxious that the folds of their dress should fall correctly...Mirak may be considered as the founder or reformer of the Bukhara school, which was also influenced by Bihzad."

We quote the following criticism, without expressing unreserved agreement especially in respect of the comparison with Botticelli, and with Chinese works, for these are far more profound than any but the very best of the Persians:

"The more one studies these Persian artists, their drawing and their colouring, the more does one admire them, although unfortunately one's admiration for European art suffers, inasmuch as the Persians in many respects are superior to their European contemporaries. The Western drawing seems crude and the colouring feeble and inharmonious in comparison with the Eastern. Naturally it is the primitive masters that suffer most by comparison: Titian, Rembrandt, Rubens and Velasquez offer no points of comparison, but masters like Pisanello, Bellini, Botticelli, and even Holbein and Durer no longer hold that pre-eminence in respect of their drawing or their colour effects which critics have hitherto accorded them. I really consider that one of England's greatest critics of Italian art was right when he said: 'I know nothing more exquisite than a fine Persian miniature." Assuredly a close study of Persian art at its best—may our artists be spared a knowledge of the mediocre products—will have a great and lasting influence on modern art in Europe, which is already proceeding on the lines of art in two dimensions, and from this aspect the Persian miniatures are beyond compare. They are far superior to the Chinese paintings, at least, to most of those which have been shewn in Europe, for the Chinese works are comparatively weak in respect of colour and decorative feeling which the Persian Artists understood so much better than any others."

Other famous painters of the sixteenth century were Sultan Muhammad, who was a pupil of both Bihzad and Mirak and also came under direct Chinese influences, and Mir Ali. By this time Persian art was beginning to lose its force, and in the reign of Shah Abbas, and in the work of his court painter Riza, it aimed at little more than prettiness. With the following criticism of the famous Riza, all may agree, though it exhibits to an unfortunate extent the egotism of Dr. Martin's style:

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"Riza was a calligraphic artist, *i. e.*, lines were his forte, and his feats appear to me almost acrobatic. His combination of colours is not to my taste, since he is fond of putting a reddish violet in conjunction with blue, a combination that reminds me of withered orchids. In his miniatures a certain affectation and intricacy in the position of the figures is often noticeable, without any decorative effect or line being the result. His figures seldom possess any great distinction and all have the same indolent wearied facial expression. Apparently their's was a pleasure-loving court. It is impossible to tell whether these sugary faces belong to men or women.....In spite of all Riza's skill one soon tires of this playing with lines, and having seen ten of his sketches, one has seen them all."

So far then from Persian painting 'dying away in India' as Mr. Binyon once remarked, it is the Indians, as Dr. Martin himself says, creating a new style of painting under the Mughals, who excelled the Persians in the seventeenth century; but only a few of the Indian Mughal works approach the *earlier* Persian, in grandeur, brilliance and simplicity. We need not follow the decadence of Persian art in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

So far we have followed Dr. Martin closely, in a resume of the history of Persian painting. Our attitude with regard to the Indian chapter has to be more critical.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Dr. MERCIER'S NEW LOGIC—I *.

By Mr. A. WORSLEY.

THIS is a work in good literary form, clearly expressed, tersely put, and full of critical ability. If it is necessary to demolish the pretensions of some logicians that traditional logic governs every argumentative process, then the author has also produced a useful book. Yet it is open to doubt if any such necessity exists; whether such claims were not refuted long since, and whether Logicians are not now content to claim for their art that it is but a special form of reasoning applicable to formal propositions.

Dr. Mercier has very skilfully attacked the technical terms, the formalities, and nearly all the details of Traditional and Scholastic Logic. Here and there he seems to have missed his footing, but in general these smaller combats end in his favor. But it cannot be said that his general attack is well conceived, for he omits to push the assault against three of the weakest points. For there are at least four grounds for claiming that European system of logic are not only so circumscribed as to be of little practical utility, but are only relatively true. An attack on any one of these lines must quickly end in the complete overthrow of those pretensions which he seemingly prefers to wear down by a series of small conflicts. Yet it is true that he has pushed his attack so far along the lines of Sections III. and IV.

* *A New Logic* by C. Mercier, M. D., (Heinemann, 1912).

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Let us cite these four general objections, bearing clearly in mind that the first three are not logical objections to Logic, but are philosophical objections destructive of any pretensions that Logic is universally true. The fourth is a logical objection to certain claims made in the name of Logic.

I. It depends on Name and Form, and involves the fallacy that Names and Forms represent realities. But if the latter are but aspectually true or real, and the former are concepts founded upon them, then logic remains relative and not absolute.

II. It descends from our apperceptions; that is, it is limited *ab initio* by the forms of our thought and cannot transcend them. Hence it is relative to these forms and is inapplicable to discussions on absolute being (Truth).

III. It is but one special form of reasoning, and does not cover the whole field open to rational argument. Just as our system of numbers cannot exactly express every relationship or ratio which might be expressible under some more perfect system, so those logically unproveable propositions are not necessarily cryptic, but are merely the surds of conventional logic.

IV. It deals, in great part, with deductive arguments. These alleged deductions are often mere re-statements of an original proposition, and hence do not carry us beyond where we started. In other cases they lead to approximations and not to absolute conclusions.

It is also doubtful if the claims of Logic to give results that are materially (or hypothetically) true can be sustained, unless it is admitted that many such results are approximations to the truth rather than absolute verities.

For discrete propositions cannot be crystallised into concrete instances without some, however minute, error in reproduction. The concept can never be faultlessly reproduced in the Thing *; the former is, at best, but the greatest common measure of a class, and can never be exactly mirrored in any individual. For instance a figure in the *Botanical Magazine* should be the representation of some individual plant; it can never be truly representative of a species. An attempt to give specific representation in a single picture must result in one of two figures; either (1) the figure of an imaginary plant representing the *mean* both in dimension, color and habit, between all known individuals of this species; or it must be an *extreme* figure with shadowy lines and colors giving the maximum and minimum sizes, the various poses and colors of all these individuals combined (in one picture).

* This particular house must differ in some respect from our previous conception of what the term "house" implied. In extreme instances these differences will be well marked, as when our particular house is near the border line between what we mean by "house" and what we mean by "shed", or "fortress." Individual instances thus brought within our experience continually modify our concept of what words imply. It is thus that words have obtained their meanings and change their meanings, changes which would not take place if concrete instances were in real identity with discrete propositions.

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Now our experience fails to provide us with any individual plant which is in identity with either of these *specific* figures, for they are founded upon a class and the former is an individual. The most we can hope for in botany is a fairly close approximation, or some clear distinction. Now all those logical results which spring from discrete propositions and end in concrete instances must be approximations to the ideal and cannot be in 'real' identity therewith. Hence approximation cannot be shut out of Logic however such exclusion may be asserted ; and if, to attain this end, we decide to exclude from Logic all deductive propositions, there will be little left to argue about.

Under Sec. III, Dr. Mercier objects to traditional logic mainly on the ground that it excludes many results within the reach of Reason, and notably so by not following the process of analogy. He states * that his own position as to the sources of logical knowledge "may be thus explained", but the explanation which follows fails to touch upon the fundamental question of how we know that we know. If he maintains that knowledge comes from the analytical and synthetical comparison of one result of experience with other results of experience, then he is clearly arguing from one 'particular instance' to another. To whatever extent he may pursue this method of research, even if he accumulates evidence in a thousand cases, by such means he can never establish any general proposition. He can go just so far as his thousand particular instances take him—but no farther. To establish his proposition as universally true he must withstand the cross-examination of the 'objector general'. And this he does not demand.

He complains (p. 24) that other writers fail to define their terms, yet he follows their bad example. For instance, he writes legibly about the real world, real existence, and so forth, but does not always tell us in what this alleged reality consists. Lower down this same page he defines "real existence" as referring to "an external world which is the world of experience," presumably in the psychological sense. But however the psychologist may call this world "real," its "reality" is bounded by psychological research and outside such boundaries its "reality" becomes doubtful. † It is not the "real" world of Logic, Religion, or Philosophy. Now it appears that the author, by an unrecognised tour-de-force, has dragged the whole Karma of Psychology into the "real" world as known to Logicians. The first result of this is to produce a kind of pseudo-logic, a frightful pandemonium of apparent contradictions and cross purposes. Now it does not follow that the Author's system of reasoning is bad *ab initio*, or that it is more faulty than that of traditional or modern logic ; but it is clear that he should have begun his task by redrafting all definitions. Then we should know whether he was using words in a logical or in a psychological sense, or whether his basis of thought was

* Chapter XII.

† Davy warned us against mistaking experience for actuality.

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neither purely logical nor purely psychological. Not having done this he has brought confusion into Logic just in the same way as his pragmatic brethren have confused present-day philosophy by dragging in allegations as to "Will," "Motive," etc., founded on psychological experience.*

Now everything that is to be argued is already contained in that which is given or taken for granted. In definitions the conclusions are contained, and argument is more likely to obscure the content of definition than to elucidate it. Hence when a writer has correctly defined his axioms and terms his system is complete, but until he has done so all his propositions are surds. On page 366, our author makes this admission. He says—"difference, that appears to be difference of opinion about facts, is very often, unknown to the disputants, difference about the meaning of words; and no controversy can be useful or fertile, that is not preceded by a definition of the words to be used." This is well said, but why keep this jewel for the end of his book, when it should have come first and have been acted upon throughout? Coming where it does, it sounds like repentance for sins.

Let the psychologists therefore take courage and kindly define for us such terms as "Nature" and "Will".

Hindu logic had this advantage, that the definition of terms was referred to the contextual meaning of such words in the Holy Books. Their writers had to "show scripture" for the meanings upon which they wished to insist. Unfortunately European logicians have no such criterion. Hence we are left in the position that to be strictly logical, we must either define our terms and so leave nothing to argue about, or make no definitions and thus leave open no possibility for profitable discussion. †

On the other hand we must remember that although the word *Logic* conveys to us a definite and restricted meaning, yet there have been times and places wherein the word was used in a very general sense, far wider than that of Dr. Mercier. For instance, it meant *Inference* in its widest sense in the Nyaya Sutras of Gotama, and, according to Sayana, it also covered the Doctrine of Deeds which forms the crux of Jaimini's Purva Mimamsa. It is therefore arguable that Dr. Mercier is not only restoring to the art of logic its freedom of movement, but to the word itself a fuller meaning of which recent logicians had lost sight. Hence, if it is doubted whether his system can be properly called *Logic*, the criticism only amounts to this—that the modern usage of the word is against him. On the other hand it is obvious that "A new system of logic" must differ in some respect from existing systems, and will, presumably, transcend them to some extent.

* For instance, our author has his own meaning for "Induction." It is not the logician's meaning.

† The former course is not practicable in its entirety, for it would involve unending arguments. Hence a *media via* is necessary, and some measure of confusion is unavoidable.

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European logic purports to reason from allegation to allegation. It is not necessarily concerned with fact, much less with questions of relative or absolute reality. But it is claimed that if fact pertains to the premises it pertains also to the conclusions. Hence all kinds of propositions are admitted, provided only that they rest on definite allegations. There is a very close analogy between Logic and Accountancy for the accountant is only concerned in so devising his balance sheet that the result shall contain just the same actuality as did the "facts" laid before him. He is not called upon to verify the data supplied him. No! all he claims is that if he is supplied with facts, his result will be fact.

Both Logic and Accountancy eschew approximation and deal solely with fact or allegation. Hence Logic cannot admit the model proposition, nor will the Accountant make out his balance sheet on a series of hypotheses.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA.*

By Mr. HORACE WYNDHAM.

TO the enterprise of the Clarendon Press of Oxford is due in a series of six handsome volumes (others will follow) the fascinating story of the initiation of British commerce with India. This has been gathered principally from the various documents contained in the archives of the India Office, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. The object of this series—which is edited by a well-known scholar, Mr. William Foster—is to render available the rich store of historical materials existing at the India Office, the Public Record office, the British museum (Department of MSS.) the Bombay Record office, &c. Each volume contains on an average about four hundred documents, calendared in such a manner as to provide free information on all points of interest. The more important passages are reproduced *in extenso* with the original spelling; while of the rest a careful extract is given. These records are of course indispensable to all students of the history of British enterprise in India or of the political and social conditions of that country under the Mogul Emperors. Moreover, written as they are, not by chance travellers but by merchants who had lived many years in the East, they contain authoritative information on all matters of commerce and manufactures, coinage, &c. There is also much that is of importance regarding the trade of other European Nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, and the intercourse between India and the neighbouring countries, especially Persia and Arabia. Each volume is provided with a map, an introduction, full notes and an Index. The first volume of

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The English Factories in India.—Vols I. to VI. (1618—1641). Edited by William Foster (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) Henry Frowde, London.

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the series carries the narrative from 1618 to 1621. Although it only deals with the events of these four years, it calendars no less than four hundred and sixty papers, and thus forms an invaluable mine of historical research. We shall analyse its contents to indicate the wealth of material comprised in the series.

In the month of January, 1618, when the story opens, the number of English factories in the dominions of the Great Mogul was but five, the settlements being those of Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Broach, and Surat. Some of the first agents in charge seem to have taken their duties lightly, for we read of one, John Browne, that he "wrote poetry in the intervals of business." It is to be feared that he was a better poet than a business man, for he permitted the accounts of his branch to get into confusion. Accusations of "evil living" and of private trading were also brought against him; but these he indignantly repudiated. The general control over all the factories at this time was exercised by Thomas Kerridge (at Surat), Thomas Rastell, and Giles James. The two, however, were in subordination to Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesty's Ambassador in India, who had been for this purpose expressly invested by the Company with plenary powers even in commercial matters.

Roe's embassy was a notable one. A strong man in every sense of the word, he applied himself unsparingly to remedying the many abuses he found rampant among the Company's servants, despite the bad health from which he suffered. He was also commissioned by King James himself to "ripen and prepare business" in Persia, and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. Accordingly he decided to remain at his post, although he wrote to the Court in London, "my employment is nothing but vexation and trouble; little honor; less profit." Where the commercial interests of the Company were concerned he occasionally adopted distinctly high-handed proceedings. Thus, in his instructions with respect to a certain trading voyage he peremptorily ordered the Captain to take possession by force of any junks if the occupants declined to do business with him. "This," he naively added, "will force them to understand the interests of commerce." No wonder, then, that under these conditions trade flourished so exceedingly. Among the many rules whose observance he insisted upon was one forbidding the factors to marry. Yet, he made an exception in favour of a certain employe. This, as may be imagined, created some ill feeling among the enforced celibates, and Roe was accordingly himself complained of and reported to the Board of Directors. He met the complaint by pronouncing its maker as "opiniated."

From time to time during Roe's embassy serious trouble manifested itself among not only the mercantile staff, but also among the ecclesiastical establishment attached to it, for these were days when the Company looked after the spiritual requirements of its representatives in the East, and accordingly maintained a corps of chaplains. These chaplains, however,

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were occasionally more partial to the loaves and fishes than to the proper administration of their calling. One such clerical black sheep, for example, gave rise to tremendous scandal by dressing himself up as a Moor, and paying improper attentions to three Englishwomen residing at the same station as himself. Thereupon an official wrote home to the Board a long letter in which he dilated upon the reverend gentleman's galantries. A notable passage runs as follows :—

"The strayed minister is since returned to his flock. I have pardoned his rebellious negligences, and ignorances, in hopes he will become a new man."

Fortunately for the morals of the settlement these back-slidings were not generally followed. At any rate, the pious example and strictly correct department of the Rev. Mr. Copland, a colleague of the erring minister, are frequently held up to admiration. His "virtuous life" and "sound doctrine" impressed themselves so favourably upon all with whom he came into contact that prior to his departure from India he succeeded in converting a native to Christianity. He brought him home in 1614 and persuaded the Company to educate him at their own expense. Shortly afterwards the youth was publicly baptized at St. Dioni's Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, receiving the name of Peter. A year later he returned to India, but his subsequent history is not known. It is thought, however, that he became a missionary.

As the direct outcome of Roe's embassy in the East trade followed the Flag to a pronounced extent. Very large profits were realised, sometimes each ship making 100 p. c. upon her cargo. A brisk demand sprang up among the natives for red coral from the Mediterranean, this commodity being in great request for necklaces and also being "much spent to burn with the dead." The Surat factors, accordingly, arranged for a special supply to be brought out to Bombay by the fleet sailing in 1617. This, however, led to dissensions among the local traders, who protested against any such importations by the Company's ships. "The merchants of Surat," wrote one of the factors in February 1619, "will not suffer it to be brought but by a strong hand." When, however, in spite of this warning the cargo arrived, considerable difficulty was experienced in landing it. The dispute lasted for some days, during which period the coral was warehoused. While it lay in the store the factors prepared a petition for the removal of the restrictions upon their trade which they presented to Shah Jahan. When His Highness held out no hope of doing anything of the sort they enlisted the powerful aid of Asaf Khan. This was successfully obtained, and a *farman* was granted authorising the sale.

A very interesting account is given by Mr. Foster of the rise and progress of the long drawn out commercial rivalry between England and Holland where the Indian market was concerned. About the year 1617 matters came to a head, owing to the high-handed actions of the Dutch merchants in seeking to exclude the Company's fleet from trading with the Bandas and the Moluccas.

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Thereupon a strong convoy was specially sent out from England to the scene of the dispute. The British ships met with a warm reception, and after the hostilities had continued for several months it was found that the Company had lost rather more than it had gained. Thereupon wiser counsels prevailed, and the English and Dutch East India Companies settled their differences amicably, and formed themselves into a combination for mutual protection against their common enemy, Spain and Portugal. The reconciliation, however, was only a temporary and a patched up one, and it broke out again with renewed vigour as soon as the danger threatening their mutual interests had been removed. Only the passage of years, indeed, sufficed to overcome it.

The modified and short lived partnership of England and Holland in the Far East commenced about the year 1620. Under terms of this agreement England was to have one-third of the trade in the Moluccas and one-half of the then exceedingly valuable Bantam pepper trade. Unfortunately, a spirit of discord manifested itself from the very outset almost. Richard Fursland, the senior British official, established his head-quarter at Batavia. As the territory, however, was claimed by the Dutch a series of wrangles promptly ensued. The two nations, indeed, only worked together on a couple of occasions. The first of these was when they dispatched a joint fleet to blockade the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast in the autumn of 1821; and the second was when England was admitted to a share in the commerce of Pulicat, a fortified station on the Coromandel coast, at the time, nominally under the shadowy rule of the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagar. On the arrival of the English settlers at Pulicat the former factory at Petapoli was dissolved, it being considered unnecessary to maintain two separate branches for the purchase of the same goods.

A number of interesting letters dealing with the Masulipatam settlement are included in the volume. From one of these it appears that the factor in charge was recalled in the year 1621 for alleged participation in private trading, a little weakness to which a good many officials at that time were prone, despite the stringent rules to the contrary. Other correspondence of the period relates to the discovery of a diamond mine at Kollur. There is also an account of adventures of a young English woman, "a maid about 24", who came out to India on board a Danish vessel, and afterwards escaped in a native boat to Pulicat, "where she was honestly married to the preacher of the fort." Mention of this reminds us of the fact that at this time Denmark was also endeavouring to obtain some share of the trade in these quarters. The Danish East India Company, founded in 1616, did not, however, last long. After effecting a landing in Ceylon, the commander of the Danish convoy thought it advisable to take his ship to India. Here, with the co-operation of the Mayak he obtained in 1620, the formal cession of the port of the Tranquebar. He then returned to Ceylon, to embark the party he had left there, and sailed for Copenhagen. Of the other two vessels in the convoy one was captured by the Portuguese and the other was wrecked off Trincomalee.

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For the rest, it only remains to be said that this comprehensive volume abounds in valuable details respecting the economic state of India at the period to which it relates. The various products, commercial centres, and system of coinage, etc., are all enlarged upon. The general condition of the country is also described at length, and a good deal is said about the weakness of the Government and the corruption of the local officials. Against this, however, evidence is adduced on the part of several rulers to administer justice and serve the interests of all classes under them. Sir Thomas Roe, for example, the English Ambassador in India, makes the emphatic declaration that "their justice is generally good to strangers" and that many of the troubles of which the English trader complained were caused by their own actions. Also it appears that a spirit of the widest religious tolerance prevailed, and that there is no evidence of anybody being persecuted on account of his faith. Such a statement as this could not have been fairly made of any European country at the time. Hence it abundantly redounds to the credit of India.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Whitaker's Almanack for 1913. Edited by Joseph Whitaker, F. S. A., (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.* Abridged edition 1*s.*

Hazell's Annual for 1913. Edited by Hammond Hall. (Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., 52 Long Acre, London.) Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The International Whitaker (12 Warwick Lane, London). Price 2*s.* for 1913.

The Daily Mail Year-Book for 1913. (The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) Price 6*d.*

Who's Who for 1913. (Price 10*s.* 6*d.*) and *Who's Who Year—Book*, 1913 (Price 1*s.*) (Adam & Charles Black, Soho Square, London).

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage for 1913. (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Literary Year-Book and Bookman's Directory for 1913. (John Dusley, Ld., London) Price 5*s.*

The Writer's and Artists' Year-Book for 1913. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) Price 1*s.*

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory for 1913. Edited by G. E. Mitton, (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, Price 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

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Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. V. (T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, Edinburgh) 1912. Price £1. 8s.

Books that Count. A Dictionary of Standard Books. Edited by W. Forbes Gray. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) 1913. Price 5s.

The Karachi Hand-Book for 1913. ("The Sind Gazette," Office, Karachi) 1913. Price Rs. 4.

WHITAKER'S *Almanac* and *Hazell's Annual* are par excellence "books of reference," in the popular sense of the term. The *Almanack*—of which the present issue is the forty-fifth annual edition—contains "an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, a vast amount of information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations of the world, with special reference to the British Empire and the United States"; while the *Annual*—which is in its twenty-eighth year of issue—is "a record of the men and movements of the time" and each of the books is furnished with a full index. These extracts from the explanatory titles will fairly convey to the reader the scope and object of the two publications. Both books deal largely with statistics, with perhaps this difference that while *Whitaker's Almanac* is a statistical book both in intention and achievement, *Hazell's Annual* is not so frankly statistical but professedly readable. The difference between the two works might be brought out by saying that, whereas *Whitaker's* deals with statistics only, *Hazell's Annual* handles statistical facts. which are put in a fairly readable form. Both books exhibit on the part of their editors vast industry, limitless patience, and an admirable spirit of collation and comparison. It is a different thing, of course, to say that no such book can claim absolute accuracy. But with *Whitaker* and *Hazell* on his bookshelf—as the two supplement each other—no public man or publicist can have any excuse for pleading ignorance of, or making misleading statements on, any of the topics of the day. The Indian sections of both the books have been improved in the light of the criticism offered by us in our notices of the previous years' editions, yet some minor mistakes remain. Making allowance, however, for such mistakes in the Indian sections—mistakes inevitable in the case of writers gathering materials from administration reports and blue-books, without much personal knowledge of India—the bulk of the information contained in both the books is extremely accurate and trustworthy, and they are, on the whole, works of reference of striking merits and exceptional excellence, which no student of current events can possibly do without. The present editions of both teem with thoroughly up-to-date and most valuable information on almost every current topic of popular interest. The *International Whitaker*, which is an entirely new publication fittingly described as a statistical, historical, geographical and commercial handbook for all nations, more especially designed for the two hundred

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million English-reading people of the world. Prepared by the publishers of the world-famous annual, *the International Whitaker* supplements, but does not supersede, *Whitaker's Almanack*. The contents are made up of four parts, the first of which deals with the relative functions of the components of the universe; the second with a general description of the continents; the third with the nations of the world and the last gives a list of British and American representatives abroad. The contents of the *International Whitaker* are thus specially adapted to the requirements of publicists in India and it should have a large sale in this country.

II.

To those who cannot afford to purchase any of the books of reference noticed above, might be cordially commended the *Daily Mail Year-Book* "the little red book," as it calls itself. Its explanatory title is :—"A Hand-Book to all the Questions of the Day," and it is now in the thirteenth year of its publication. The *Daily Mail Year-Book* is certainly one of the most marvellous compendiums of general and statistical information, which can be had at the low price of six pence. It covers a large range of subjects, and each section of it is so full of information, alike interesting and instructive, that every one who will dip into it will materially add to his stock of useful knowledge. Our only complaint against the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is that it does not pay adequate attention to the fortunes of the Indian Empire and the space allotted to Indian subjects is scarcely commensurate with the importance of India as a factor in the British Empire. We hope that in its next issue the editor will see his way to materially expand the Indian section, so that it may be an exhaustive repertory of sound and useful information about the great British-Indian Empire.

III.

Who's Who and *Who's Who Year-Book*, as their names indicate, practically constitute one work in two separate parts. The *Year-Book* consists of a series of useful tables, so well-arranged that the information sought can literally be seen at a glance, and compries much original matter, not accessible in even more expensive works of reference. It is a most useful and handy compendium of general information and a necessary adjunct to the great biographical annual—*Who's Who*—from which it takes its name. *Who's Who* is *the* annual dictionary of contemporary biography. It is a biographical manual briefly recording all that is worth knowing of living celebrities. Making allowance for omissions and deficiencies inevitable in a work of this kind, *Who's Who* is, beyond all doubt, the best and the most compendious annual biographical directory of the world's prominent persons in all walks of life and is, as such, a most valuable and absolutely indispensable work of reference. Men and women of the British and Irish nationality naturally predominate, but the leading men and women of note of the Continental, American and Australian countries also find a place in its pages. India, however, cannot be said to be adequately represented. Even in the sketches

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of the few Indians whose names appear, there is a "sense of disproportion"—Indian noblemen and titled men being lionised (such, for instance, as is the case in Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*) at the expense of distinguished Indian public men and leaders, the vast majority of whom are conspicuous by their absence in *Who's Who*. We hope that the usefulness of the next edition will be materially increased by a serious attempt being made to furnish sketches of the distinguished Indians—the leaders of public opinion in the different provinces.

IV

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage is, if we many say so, a *Who's Who*, on a small scale, of peers, baronets, knights and companions of the British Empire. There are many bulky publications on the subject, two of the best-known being those of Burke and Debrett. But for ready reference and every-day use in India, *Whitaker's Peerage* fully serves the purpose. Its arrangement is simple, its statements are, on the whole accurate, and it gives just the information about peers, baronets and companions, that an Anglo-Indian or Indian publicist would ordinarily require. Its handy size, neat printing, excellent get-up and, above all, its very moderate price, are all strong recommendations in its favour, and it should find a place on the book-shelf of every publicist in India. The usefulness of the book to seekers after knowledge in this country, is enhanced by its including sketches of the knights and companions of the Indian Orders, as also by supplying information about what are infelicitously called "Native Indian" titles, and a glossary of Indian words bearing on the subject.

V

The next two books on our list are works of reference for literary persons, as they deal with the world of literature and journalism. The *Literary Year-Book* is now in its seventeenth year of issue and it has long been acknowledged to have supplied a real want. It gives a literary calendar, an exhaustive list of contemporary authors and their chief works, a list of literary agents, typists and press-cutting agencies, summary of the laws of copy-right, a "table of royalties" for the benefit of authors who adopt the method of payment called "royalties," a list of leading British, Continental and American publishers and booksellers, lists of periodical publications with contributors' guide—one alphabetical and the other classified according to the subject-matter of the contents of the periodicals—a list of learned societies all over the world, a list of the world's principal libraries and, lastly, technical information about the production of books. A "classified list of publishers" is a new and useful feature. It would thus be seen that the *Literary Year-Book* is an indispensable *vade-mecum* for all persons connected with the press or devoted to literary pursuits. The *Literary Year-Book* is, so to say, a book-man's directory, on a large-scale, and it may fitly be designated the "Book-man's Manual." In the preface to the current edition, there is an interesting

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account of last year's important events in the journalistic and literary world. We are glad to find that the editor has been able to expand the section devoted to Indian journals and newspapers. This has materially enhanced the value of the book, as a work of reference, to seekers after information about Indian periodicals. We notice with pleasure that the editor has again appended in the present issue a complete classified list of the various series of cheap reprints of classics which have been so prominent a feature of the publishing trade during the last few years. We are glad to notice that the list has been made a permanent feature of the *Literary Year-Book* and trust it will be revised from year to year and kept up-to-date. The list is of great value to all book-lovers, but it will be particularly appreciated in India—educated Indians, as a class, being too poor to purchase expensive editions.

The *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* in a way supplements the *Literary Year-Book*. It contains a large number of addresses of periodical publications to which manuscripts may be sent, as also an indication of the contribution that each particular publication requires, besides all such general information as would facilitate the placing of literary work. In the list of journals mentioned, special attention is drawn to all details of importance—such as the length of manuscripts likely to be accepted, the kind and quality of matter suitable and the style of illustration generally employed. The book also supplies the want of artists who, though working with pen and brush, desire acceptance of their output in magazines. It is thus a very useful little book, the information in which, though necessarily brief, is of great utility to all connected with the press or literature. It would largely increase the value of the book as a work of reference, if the editor could see his way to devote—like the *Literary Year-Book*—a special section to Indian periodicals.

VI.

The *Englishmwoman's Year-Book and Directory* is now in its thirty-second year of publication and is too well-established a favourite with those for whom it caters to need the reviewer's commendation. It is divided into several sections grouped under various headings. Each of these sections is comprehensively dealt with and the information brought together by the editor is valuable and interesting. In India, the book will be found to be very useful not only by Anglo-Indian ladies, but also by social reformers and publicists interested in questions concerning "women's cause," of which it is an encyclopædic record. The present edition has been completely revised and re-arranged and, with a view to facilitate reference, many new headings and a wide system of cross-references have been introduced and the index appreciably enlarged.

VII.

We welcome the fifth volume of Dr. Hasting's monumental work of reference, the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The book was originally planned to be completed in ten volumes, but as the one under notice takes us only as far as Fichte, it is not likely that the work would comprise less than

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twenty volumes. This is due to the plan and scope of the book having been conceived and carried on on most comprehensive lines. While principally dealing with Religion and Ethics, almost all the philosophical sciences are brought under survey, some of which having but a remote connection with Theology or Morality. Of course, this, if anything, is erring on the right side. For the rest, we have little to add to our highly appreciative reviews of the preceding four volumes, in noticing which we characterised the merits of this publication. The present volume fully sustains the very high reputation acquired by this work for scholarships, lucidity of exposition and impartiality. We once again congratulate the talented editor on his industry and resourcefulness and the publishers on their enterprise.

VIII.

In his *Books that Count*, Mr. Forbes Gray has made a very useful contribution to general bibliography, which will be found invaluable by readers in search of information on the latest and best works in English on almost all subjects. It is a classified dictionary (in 14 sections) of some 5,500 works including 300 of those that have appeared in the last three years and its survey includes (1) only books that are in English (together with outstanding foreign books, of which good translations exist) ; (2) that present concisely, intelligently, and authoritatively the general aspects of the subjects with which they deal ; and (3) that are thoroughly modern in aim and outlook, easily accessible and purchasable at a moderate price. The arrangements throughout, with a view to facilitate reference, is alphabetical and each section is subdivided so as to enable the reader to find most readily the best books on any branch of a given subject. Even more useful than the arrangement is the feature supplying brief but expository characterisations of every book mentioned. These descriptvie notes are a striking and valuable feature of the book. There are also two full indices, one of authors and the other of titles, with a detailed table of contents. Altogether the work is both authoritative and comprehensive and we trust the publishers will bring out revised and corrected editions of it annually.

IX.

If we may believe the compilers of the *Karachi Handbook* for 1913, the capital of Sindh is the hub of the universe, at any rate of the old world. Such a place surely deserves an annual memorial and it is now available in the volume under notice, which is compact tome extending to some 400 pages of well-printed and excellently—illustrated matter, giving the most detailed information about the past and present condition of Karachi. The book is a successful attempt at combining the features of an encyclopœdia, a gazateer, and a guide-book in one. No resident in Karachi or Sindh or for the matter of that anyone interested in the fortunes or progress of that rising port can do without this book. It will also be found invaluable by visitors to Karachi. In the next edition the compilers will do well to eschew the use of the word "native" for "Indian."

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THE OPEN FORUM.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR AFGHANISTAN.

By "AN AFGHAN"

THE article which "Durrani" has contributed on the above subject is bristling with paradoxical views. One of the most startling is that Islam is opposed to a constitutional form of government. In my humble opinion Islam could neither be in favour nor against such a Government—at least in its modern sense—for the simple reason that representative form of government (in the present acceptance of the term) was not known in the days of the Prophet.

(2) Durrani's next thesis that the Afghan is brought up in thraldom and is therefore incapable of constitutional government is also not very near the mark. Whatever may be the attitude of an average Afghan to his village elder and to the Amir, as to an outsider he is as stiff-necked as any one in the East or even in the West can be. He has not been lacking in his love for his country and that is a great asset in the future political progress of the country.

(3) The writer has utilised 'Turkey' and 'Persia' to show what a free constitutional government has been. But these nations have not been given a fair chance—owing to their contiguity to their powerful Western neighbours—and it is distance which has contributed a good deal to the comparative immunity of Japan and China.

(4) The ways and means suggested by Durrani to bring about in Afghanistan what he calls a "reformed and civilised absolutism" are not very happy or pregnant of good. He suggests a Council of State to curb the Amir. A smaller replica of the same to keep the Governors in order, and other councils here and there to establish what may be called Council Government as opposed to Government by Parliament. I am afraid the writer has fallen into the very mistake which he at the outset was very careful to avoid, *viz.*, that of copying the mere forms of Government of another country which according to him has been the cause of the ruin of Eastern countries.

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Council Government is certainly a great feature of the Government of India. But the vital part of that Government is neither the Executive Council nor the Legislative Council but away in the background the District Law Court. It is the reign of Law before which high or low, proud or humble, rich or poor, are all alike, which secures to the husbandman the fruit of his industry and to the trader his hard-earned gains, which constitutes the truly important wheel in the machinery of Indian Government. The next great feature of this Government is the freedom of the Press, the free expression of opinion by the subject on all matters political, social or moral. It is this which keeps the whole fabric of society and government in healthful, vigorous action. Next after this is the enlightenment of the people by means of education and then bringing them together by easy and safe means of communication. Without these essentials a 'council' Government in Afghanistan or in any oriental country or state would be more or less a farce. If Afghanstan is to advance the preliminary essentials are good laws, and independent judiciary and the establishment of schools all over the country. Then other things will come about automatically.

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THE TOPIC OF THE DAY.

INDIAN FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT.

By Mr. S. K. SARMA, B. A.

THE British public and the British House of Commons are at present taking an unusual interest in the financial management of this country. Not a week passes without some question or other being put to the Under Secretary of State for India, and beginning from the "Times" the British press are publishing articles from their correspondents. Even the monthlies are having their say and have opened their pages to men of all shades of opinion. The interest that has thus been evoked may be of an evanescent character; the attacks that are being made against the Secretary of State for India and his financial advisers may have for their motive nothing higher than considerations of party. But that some good is sure to accrue from this ruthless exposure of a department of State which has been considered to be sacrosanct, is the fervent hope of every Indian taxpayer. That the India Office is above public and parliamentary criticism; that, if ever, India would be lost it would only be on the floor of the House of Commons, has been the sermon preached by radical as well as conservative statesmen. Both Lord Morley and Lord Curzon who agreed on nothing else in the world, agreed in this, that Indian questions ought to be kept as free as possible from parliamentary discussion and note. And their conscience must now be uneasy at the well-merited criticisms that have been levelled against their policy which could have been saved if the fierce-light of public and parliamentary criticism had been allowed to penetrate into the *purda* transactions of the India Office.

Before attempting to sum up the case against the India Office which it will have to answer ere long before the bar of public opinion, let us raise a word of caution against public criticism being dissipated and public attention being concentrated on questions of only momentary significance, ignoring issues which are of wider import. We are afraid that in some quarters there is a tendency to waste energy in attacking the policy of the India Office, which though paying from the point of view of sensational Journalism, cannot do all the good that can possibly be done to the people of India, namely, the policy of secret purchases of silver through the firm of Messrs. Montagu & Co. One opportunity was wasted in the House of Lords when

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Lord Inchcape raised a debate in November last and Lord Crewe had no difficulty in satisfying public curiosity as to why that particular firm was chosen. Some firm had to be chosen and why not Messrs Montagu and Co. especially when there is no question of personal corruption at all? Messrs. Montagu and Co. had not only the advantage of making a small profit by purchasing silver for the India Office, but they also derived some advantage in securing loans from the Secretary of State for India, whose over abundant cash had somehow to find an investment. Lord Morley once pointed out that his financial patronage extended to about a hundred and sixty millions and when a Secretary of State has about forty millions in hand not knowing what to do with it, there is no reason why financial houses should not oblige him by unloading him of some burden. Conservative Governments were in the habit of lending Messrs. Montagu and Co. and when Mr. Montagu was not Under-Secretary, the Liberal Government had lent them £850,000. It rose to £1,055,000 because the India Office, in the words of Lord Swaythling, "were large and anxious lenders in the market," and their loans were governed by three considerations, "firstly, the willingness of borrowers to take the money from the India Council, secondly, the trustworthiness of the approved borrowers; and thirdly, whether those firms approved had sufficient of the particular securities which the India Council required." All thanks to Messrs. Montagu and Co. for having come to the timely rescue of a Minister over burdened with spare cash and anxiously looking forward to 'approved borrowers' who would relieve him of the congested treasury!

But the transactions with Messrs. Montagu and Co. ought to be dismissed as wider issues are at stake, and public attention has to be drawn to the entire financial management of the India Office. The charge against the India Office may be summed up in one word, namely, drift. The policy of drift, may be good and advisable in all matters of statecraft, but it ought not to invade the region of high finance, where the mischiefs that may result may be irreparable. And yet the India Office has been following the policy of drift and manipulating its financial affairs on no defined, aye, on indefinable principles. The "Times" is inclined to think that it is a deliberate policy upon which the Secretary of State has embarked. For our own part we fail to see any design, any principle underlying the transactions of the India Office, unless it be an insufferable recklessness to purely Indian interests and an inexplicable anxiety

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to serve London in preference to India. It cannot be part of any design or principle to withdraw about fifty millions of Indian money and keep it permanently in London, lending it to approved borrowers at 2½ per cent when the bank-rate is generally 5 per cent in India and does not uncommonly rise to 7 or 8 per cent.

Our readers are probably aware that the Secretary of State for India has three sources from which this forty millions is made up. The first, is the gold standard Reserve, the second, the paper currency Reserve and the third, cash balances. The policy in regard to all of which has undergone considerable change. When the gold standard Reserve was established the Finance member of the Government of India was in favour of locating it in this country; but it has been transferred to London and London bankers are allowed the use of about 21 millions sterling. The paper currency Reserve was ever since its constitution kept only in India; but a portion of it, about eight millions sterling, has been recently transferred to London. The object of the paper currency Reserve is to redeem the note circulation which is between sixty and seventy crores at present. Every available pie should therefore remain in India, and although no note circulates in London, a pretty large reserve has been kept there. The cash balances were intended to meet the current demands of the Secretary of State for India and he used to keep with him only about four millions ; but it has swollen to eighteen millions, because the Secretary of State for India has taken to the comfortable pastime of financing trade. Apparently the India Office has not much work in its hand and since it must kill time somehow, it has taken to financing trade and when that operation enables it to extend its sphere of financial patronage,—well, nothing is to be said against it.

To go a little more into detail, the policy of the Government with regard to the gold standard Reserve is one of unmeaning vacillation. The object of the Reserve was to build up a fund which will consist purely of gold and the fund was not only to steady exchange, but also to be the nucleus for introducing an effective gold currency Now, how has this policy of steadying exchange and introducing a gold currency been pursued ? The Reserve was removed to London to inspire confidence in India and the trade had to derive inspiration from the fact that at a distance of six thousand miles there was an Office which, would, if it could, come to their rescue whenever wanted. The Secretary of State more careful of the taxpayer than the trader, invested the gold in securities. The people who at the sight of the Reserve were to introduce a gold currency wanted rupees and in order to move

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speedily to satisfy the silver hunger, Sir Edward Baker, when he was Finance Member of India opened a silver branch of the gold standard Reserve in India which was to consist of coined rupees to the extent of four millions sterling or six crores. Then the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Council and the Mackay Committee recommended the appropriation of half the profits on coinage to the construction of railways. Then there came the crash in 1907, the fall of exchange, the failure of the Secretary of State to come to the immediate relief of the trade, the stoppage of the sale of Council Bills and telegraphic transfers on London to the tune of eight millions. Knowledge comes they say, but wisdom lingers. The railway misappropriation was stopped ; the silver branch was drawn upon from London to the extent of two millions ; and the Secretary of State has decided to raise the Reserve to twenty five millions, keeping five millions in solid gold and bring the depleted silver branch to the full amount of six crores. These are the latest lessons on high finance !

The paper currency Reserve as everybody knows can only be required in India ; but in 1905 a portion of it was transferred to London. It is true that only about two millions of it are invested and five millions are kept in the Bank of England, ear-marked for India. When Sir Edward Baker transferred the sum to London he explained the object to be to facilitate the purchase of silver as London was the great silver mart. But four millions was being kept in India in coined rupees out of the gold standard Reserve, and if that stock had to be utilised, bills or telegraphic transfers against it in London could be drawn to provide funds for purchasing silver to replenish that stock. Why then the withdrawal of eight millions to London ? Why did the Secretary of State for India release two millions from the silver branch of the gold standard Reserve, when, as he knows, the demand for silver is so pressing as to keep besides six crores of coined rupees in India eight millions in gold to purchase silver with—in England? To keep the silver branch in India at six crores and eight millions in England of the paper currency Reserve, can lead to only one conclusion, namely, that at the same time the pressure for silver would be so great as to demand twelve millions in gold in ready cash to purchase silver with. Is that the impression of the India Office ? Otherwise the transfer of eight millions of the paper currency Reserve is inexplicable. Even if that were so, why not purchase silver out of the gold in the gold standard Reserve?

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The most strange part of the transaction is the accumulation of the cash balances which in 1907 totalled only four millions, but in 1912 came to eighteen millions. Pressed for an explanation to this Mr. Montagu said that "the only object that the Secretary of State has is the facilitating of British Indian trade, which would be brought practically to a stand still if these bills were not issued." But this is not the first time that the Government have been financing trade. As Lord Inchcape has pointed out the practice of selling Council Bills beyond the India Office requirements and regulating the demands of trade thereby is not a new one; it dates back to a period beyond which the memory of the oldest Indian merchants and bankers does not extend. Why then have the excess sales increased cash balances of recent years? The answer is that before 1910 the bills and transfers sold in excess of the India Office requirements had to be met to a great extent from silver specially purchased and coined or from the gold standard Reserve or from rupee taken from the paper currency Reserve against goles ear-marked in London. So far as these methods were adopted they diverted the proceed of the sale of the bills and transfers from the cash balances of the India Office. In the last three years the position has been different. As Lord Inchcape said, "the bills and transfers sold by the India Office have been met by the Government of India from their treasury balances, which were swollen by enormous and unanticipated revenue receipts, so that the proceeds of excess sales automatically increased the cash balances in London." The cash balances then are due to increased revenue receipts.

That during the three years 1910—1912 the Government of India should have unexpected revenue receipt of eleven millions on the average requires explanation. It is a matter of importance that the Indian taxpayer should know how it comes about that the level of taxation is kept so high that during the last three years about eleven millions per year should be raised from the poor people of India to finance London Banks, which do not seem to be over anxious to borrow from us. How are the "enormous and unanticipated revenue receipts" made up? What are the items that contributed to it? It seems hardly necessary to us to state the paramount importance there is for the Government of India making a clean breast of the whole thing. Eleven millions of annual windfall and nobody knowing anything about it? That is a question that deserves the careful consideration of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. The non-official members are bound to raise a debate on the all-important subject when the Council meets to discuss this year's budget. Not only the causes for the swollen state of the cash balances have to be explained, but the removal of the paper currency Reserve and the vacillating policy in regard to the gold standard Reserve has also to be enquired into. Is it too much to hope that the Hon'ble members of Council will see their way to raise an intelligent debate this year instead of frittering their energies in moving half-a-dozen resolutions which lend themselves for speech-making rather than high-thinking?

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THE POSITION OF HINDUS IN INDIA.—II.

By Sir KRISHNA G. GUPTA, K.C.S.I.

IT is a delicate subject to touch upon the political status of the Hindus, but it may not be amiss to mention a few undisputed facts. From about 2000 B.C. to the beginning of the thirteenth century Hindu supremacy remained practically undisturbed, and though successful invasions were made from time to time by various hordes from the West, these soon lost all trace of their origin and were absorbed in the Hindu fold. With Musalmans it was different; for two centuries they only made flying incursions for the sake of plunder, but in 1206 the first Pathan dynasty was established at Delhi and thenceforth till the middle of the eighteenth century, or for over 500 years Moslem rule prevailed in Upper India; I advisedly say Upper India for the Musalmans never made any lasting impression in Southern India, and elsewhere too, various Hindu Chiefs maintained a considerable amount of independence. The decline of Moslem power commenced with Aurungzebe towards the

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end of the seventeenth century; and before the British came into the scene the great Mahratta confederacy from the south had nearly extinguished the last vestige of authority of the Delhi throne, while the Punjab came under the iron grip of the Sikhs who may also be rightly regarded as Hindus; so that when Clive won the battle of Plassey in 1857, the real rivalry lay not between Moslems and the British, but between the latter and the Hindus as represented by the Mahrattas. The Hindu power, no doubt, was shattered for a time, especially in Upper India, but Hindu authority was never altogether effaced, and even the great Akbar found his most stubborn foes in the valiant Rajputs. With the decline of Moghul power, the Hindus again raised their heads, showing that the political vigour of the great Aryan race, however dormant, was yet far from being exhausted. It would not, therefore, be correct to discount the political importance of the Hindus as compared with that of any other people inhabiting India.

Whether we take Chiefs or landowners, or educated middle classes, including the various learned professions, or trade and commerce or industry, the Hindu element is everywhere predominant. The Hindus take the lead in wealth, culture, and intelligence, and all that makes for progress and advancement.

It would be incorrect to suppose that the Hindus form a homogenous people. It is true that they have everywhere some points in common, such as profession of one or other of the various Hindu cults, reverence for the cow and the Brahman, and observance of caste rules. Above all, notwithstanding the extraordinary varieties of race and speech that are found in India, there is an underlying bond of civilisation in the language and sacred literature of the Aryans. But there has been little political unity. Apart from the fact that India, properly speaking is more a continent than a single country, there is much isolation among the various provinces. Each area is more or less self-contained and has evolved its own special type with features that differentiate it from its neighbours. Diversity of languages also stands in the way of cohesion. Thirty or forty distinct Indian languages are enumerated, while the number of dialects is much greater; but the more important languages fall under two groups, *viz.*, Aryan and Dravidian. The latter of which the principal branches are Telegu, Tamil and Kanarese hold firmly the south where the people are Dravidian. The Aryan group—Punjabi, Hindi, Marratti, Gujrati, Bengali, Oorya, &c., are practi-

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cally the languages of the remainder of the continent. Even in Southern India, Sanskrit literature has been widely disseminated among the Dravidian people in their own vernaculars, through the labours of Brahman scholars. Till the introduction of English to which I have already referred there was no means of communication between the people of one province with those of another except Sanskrit, with which, however, a very few were conversant, and latterly, Hindi or Urdu, which having its origin in the Mogul camp, has since become the predominant language in Upper India, and in its Persianised form is used by Musalmans all over the country.

Among the other obstacles to national growth are ignorance and superstition. The extent to which ignorance prevails has already been mentioned, and superstition follows in the wake of ignorance to which the quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans are frequently due.

The Hindus, it is true, are not yet a nation, but the throbbings of national life are already apparent. What Hindu religion could not do, what Brahman domination could not accomplish, what centuries of residence in a common country could not bring about, is being slowly but surely moulded by English education. English literature is inspiring the Indian mind with lofty ideals of liberty and citizenship. It is English education that is making communication and interchange of thought amongst the various peoples in India possible. It is in English that the Bengali talks to the Mahratta and the Punjabi to the Telegu. English is the language of national congresses and interprovincial conferences. No gratitude is too great for those benefactors of our people who introduced English education in India. Of late we have heard a good deal of the evils of English education, and there have been critics—some of them quite distinguished men—who have not hesitated to suggest the curtailment, if not the stoppage, of English education, and a reversion to what they are pleased to call Eastern learning, the underlying idea being that English education is responsible for anarchism. But can it be seriously affirmed that such political troubles as are found to exist in India are due to English education. Doubtless there are various signs of unrest, but are they in any sense peculiar to India? Are they not equally visible in Egypt, Persia, and China? Have not the marvellous changes which have taken place in Japan had their effect all over Asia? In India the few misguided lads who have proved erratic, are only half-educated, neurotic young men, and appear to draw their inspiration not from English books, but from the Bhagbatgita—the song divine—the

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glorious teachings of which are being perverted to grosser uses. Much has been laid at the door of English education, but time will disprove the charges. There is undeniably a considerable amount of unrest, but it is English education that has given it a right direction, and kept it within legitimate bounds. Of course, the system of education as pursued in Indian schools and colleges has many defects and drawbacks, and every effort must be made to remove them ; but that is quite a different thing from denouncing English education as the author of all political ills. It can be clearly and incontestably demonstrated that English education in India has done incomparably far more good than evil. It has raised the general tone of public morality, and enabled Indians to occupy the highest positions in the State, not only with ability but with exemplary integrity. Apart from the many material benefits which English education has conferred, it has done much to dispel ignorance and superstition, to foster public spirit, and to give birth to a new spirit of patriotism which was entirely unknown before. And instead of making men godless it has helped to revive spirituality, and to turn men's minds to a truer and higher conception of religion than can be had from blindly following any ancestral faith. In this connection it would not be amiss to refer to two notable reforming movements of the nineteenth century, *viz.*, the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj.

Bengal witnessed the birth of Brahmaism, which is theism pure and simple, and is not to be confounded with Brahmanism ; and several years later the Arya Samaj appeared in the Punjab. Both these movements are the outcome of the contact of the East and the West. The British supremacy in India began in Bengal with Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757, and before many decades were over, the effects of the study of English literature became manifest in unsettling the minds of the people and shaking their faith in the religion of their ancestors. It was at this juncture, when the minds of the Hindus were in a state of apprehension, that a man arose who was preeminent in thought, culture, and attainments, and who turned the tide of unbelief towards an altogether different direction, This man was Raja Ram Mohan Ray. He was born in 1774, and early gave indications of great capacity. He was well versed in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, English, Hebrew, and other languages. He was at the outset inspired by the Upanishads and his first impulse was to revive the sublime doctrines of those writings. But he was also greatly influenced by a study of the Koran and the Bible, and Brahmaism as

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founded by him, and as it has remained ever since, was an eclective faith, taking what was best in the other religions, and freely borrowing from them. It has thus assimilated the severe monotheism of the Koran, the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, and all the sublime morality that the Bible teaches, and the personal communion and spiritual elevation which are to be learnt from the Upanishads. On the other hand, it differs from all the other religions by refusing to accept any book as sacred in the sense of being a direct revelation from God, or to recognise any mediator or prophet through whom alone salvation is to be attained. Conscience, intuition, and divine inspiration as the result of intense communion with God are held to be the only guides in the path of religion. The founder of Brahmaism was not only a great religious reformer, but was also a pioneer in all social reforms, and he actively helped Lord William Bentinck in putting down *suttee* or the burning of widows and other evil practices.

I may remark in passing that the Raja was the first Indian of any note to cross the seas, for he came to England in 1831 and was present in the House of Commons when the debate on the first Reform Bill took place. His sad death in the following year was deeply mourned, and his cremated remains lie buried in Arno Vale Cemetery, Bristol.

The impulse given to social reform by the Raja has been well sustained by his followers, who have always taken a leading part in all social movements, such as abolition of caste and early marriage, promotion of remarriage of widows, education of women, and doing away with their seclusion, and the uplifting of the lower classes, besides taking a share in all philanthropic measures, such as famine relief, &c.; and it may be said that in proportion to their number the Brahmas have done much in all these respects. After the Raja the two great men who did most to spread Brahmaism were Debendranath Tagore, and Keshab Chandra Sen. The reception given to the latter when he visited England in 1870 must be within the recollection of some of us present here. Branches of the Brahma Samaj are now established in all parts of India, and its adherents number some of the most cultured and influential men.

The Arya Samaj owes its origin to Dayanand Sarasvati. It regards the Vedas as inspired and the only direct revelation from God, and aims at purging Hinduism of its accretions and restoring the simpler faith of ancient times. In common with Brahmaism,

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it discards caste and idolatry, permits the re-marriage of widows, allows conversion from other faiths, encourages adult marriage of both sexes, and fosters education. but it lacks the eclectic character of Brahmaism, and its attitude towards other religions is not always friendly or tolerant. It has taken deep root in the Punjab, where it carries on an active and successful propaganda, and is rapidly extending in the neighbouring provinces, though elsewhere, *e.g.*, in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, it is yet practically unknown.

Time will not permit me to refer to other movements each of which claims many followers, such as the ecstatic and fervid piety of Ramkrishna Paramhansa, vedantism of which Swami Vivekanand was such an able exponent, and theosophy, which is the product of the Western mind upon an Eastern basis, and which has been eagerly adopted by those Hindus who were unwilling to break away from the orthodox fold, but were yet glad to find in the new cult some satisfaction for their higher cravings.

People in this country hear only of political unrest and of its various manifestations. They take little heed of the great religious upheaval that has overtaken the Hindu world and of the various agencies that are at work for bringing about spiritual reform. From the earliest times the Hindu mind has been specially prone to religious emotions, and a Hindu above all is spiritual. His everyday life is mixed up with religion and his care is more for the next world than for this. Hinduism is passing through a crisis which may well be described as severe, and it remains to be seen how far its powers of adaption and assimilation, which have stood in such good stead in the past, will come again to its help, and in what form it will ultimately emerge.

One most salutary effect of the spread of the various reforming movements has been to liberalise Hinduism itself, and to purge it of some of the grossest forms of superstition. Hindus are beginning to realise the drawbacks of the caste system and the necessity of raising the depressed classes and admitting them to the common rights of citizenship. They are awakening to the fact that the position and status of women must be improved and that it is as much the duty of a father to educate his daughter as it is to educate his son. Already there is a stir in orthodox Hindu circles and there are signs of Hindu revival on a broader and purer basis. There is a growing conviction that political advancement cannot precede but must go hand in hand with social, moral, and I may add, industrial

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progress. English education has opened our eyes to the absolute need of industrial development. Under modern conditions of life it is not possible for any people to thrive or prosper materially without recourse to those methods that have conduced to the greatness of Western Countries. It is not yet practicable to give a scientific or technical training except through the medium of English. In India trades and crafts were wholly dominated by guilds and castes. Under such a system there was often much hereditary and individual efficiency, but there was no room for division of labour and production on a large scale, which are the main features of modern industrialism. English education further has taught us the dignity of labour, and old time prejudices against manual work is fast disappearing.

In social matters too the people have not been idle. The greatest bulwark of Hinduism is caste, and the various castes have been kept intact by restrictions of food and marriage. It is a matter of common observation that the restrictions of food are being gradually relaxed, so much so, that in the large cities like Calcutta they have nearly lost all their force. I remember the time when a breach of the sumptuary rules entailed the severest penalties, including social ostracism. But we have now the satisfaction of witnessing the practical disappearance of the old disabilities. Railways and steamers have come in to the aid of English education in relaxing the restrictions on food, and men who have been on a visit to foreign countries are readmitted to caste with or without purificatory ceremonies. I am aware that among the masses, and even among the educated classes in some parts of the country, the caste rules are still strictly observed. But a great and perceptible breach has been made, and it is daily widening ; the future is thus full of hope.

The rules regarding endogamy are, however, strictly observed, except among those like the Brahmas and Arya Samajists, who openly encourage intermarriage ; but even among the orthodox people something in the same direction is being done by permitting marriages between subdivisions of the same caste.

Of all the evils that afflict Hindu society the caste system is one of the worst. In the peculiar circumstances of the settlement and development of the Aryans in India, the growth of the caste system was perhaps inevitable. It may have had its uses at one time in making each caste particularly zealous in maintaining its own preeminence and thus prompting a Brahman to excel in learning, a

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kshetriya in warfare, and a *vaisya* in his particular craft. But there can be no doubt that the rigid form which it ultimately assumed, and in which it has continued for centuries, has done much to stifle the healthy growth of the nation, and instead of making for unity and cohesion, has fomented dissensions among the various classes, fostered pride and arrogance on the one side and servility and resentment on the other, raised difficulties in the way of free social intercourse, thrown obstacles in the path of travel, caused physical deterioration, and been one of the main factors of the degenerations of a once great race. Admitting that in past times the system served some useful purpose—there is no denying the fact that at present it has not a single redeeming feature—and if the Hindu is again to lift his head and take part in the great work of nation building, he must revert to his original Aryan type and demolish the barriers that divide the community.

Education is no longer the monopoly of the privileged few, and the learned professions are now open to all classes. The great masses are beginning to pulsate with the common pride of humanity, and refuse to accept the doctrine that birth and not capacity should decide one's status and rank. But instead of boldly disowning caste, the depressed classes at times strive for a higher position in the social framework by trying to prove their supposed identity with some recognised superior caste. Such attempts only lead to collision with other classes, and intensify existing estrangements without bringing any corresponding advantage to their authors.

Another canker which eats into the vitals of Hindu society is early marriage. It is difficult to trace the origin of this pernicious custom, for the Aryan settlers certainly did not practise it. In the Rigveda the god of marriage is entreated to go to some other maiden who is "still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage," and again to "go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed." Even much later, Kalidasa, the Hindu Shakespeare, who flourished in the sixth century after Christ, describes the heroine of his immortal drama "Sakuntala" as having attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness when she meets her lover. "Svayambara," the choice by a princess of a husband from several suitors in open assembly, was a recognised custom in royal houses. The practice of early marriage was of slow growth, beginning perhaps with the natural anxiety of a comparatively small community of

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strangers fighting their way against powerful enemies, and in urgent need of population to open up the country to have children as early as possible ; and later, when troublous times came, parents were doubtless anxious to provide their daughters with partners who would also be their protectors as soon as practicable. But whatever the reason, the unnatural custom has become universal among the higher classes. Its evil effects upon the community are but too apparent. It has been the main factor in the physical deterioration of the race, and in stunting the growth and development of individuals of both sexes. Girls who should be in the playground or at school are carried off to lead unhealthy lives in seclusion, and undertake the responsibilities of a mother when they are yet unable to take care of themselves. Education in the proper sense of the word is thus impossible for girls belonging to orthodox families, as they have to leave school before they have had time to acquire the rudiments of learning.

The young man is no less handicapped. He becomes burdened with the cares of a family before he has finished his education. He is not free to go about and seek a suitable career but must accept anything that may come in his way to meet his immediate necessities. But the worst effects fall upon the issue of such child-marriages, and they come to this world weighted among other disadvantages with an enfeebled constitution.

The sufferings of child-widows are well known. They, along with widows of maturer years, are subjected to hardships and disabilities, which make their budding lives miserable ; but there could not be child-widows if there were no child-marriages. The stoppage of child-marriage would at once make child-widows impossible.

It is a hopeful sign that the people are beginning to realise the evils of this unnatural custom, and the difficulty of securing eligible bridegrooms is raising the marrying age of girls. The young men are learning to resist the importunities of their parents for early wedlock. Progress so far has been slow, but there is hope of acceleration as time proceeds. With a view to removing social evils, conferences are held in all parts of the country to decide upon common courses of action and they have already been productive of much good.

Last of all there is the National Congress which has been in existence since 1885, and which in its annual sessions has done much to focus the political aspirations of the best Indian minds and to indicate in what directions reforms and advance are desired. The Congress voices the hopes and wishes of educated India. It is the

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outcome of the contact of the East and West, and is well aware that the continuance of the British connection is absolutely essential to the regeneration of India and to the moulding of its diverse races into one great nation. At the outset it was viewed with distrust and met with much antagonism, but the British Government has not failed to recognise the just claims of educated India, and the recent constitutional reforms which will ever be connected with the honored name of Lord Morley mark a departure which is fraught with momentous results. The enlargement of the Legislative Councils, the increase of the elected and popular element in them, and the grant of powers of interpellation and moving resolutions are all a recognition of the legitimate demands of educated India. The Secretary of State's Council has been opened to Indians as have also been the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and Provincial Governors. Instead of despair and despondency there is hope and jubilation in the land. The loyal and moderate people are again in the ascendant, and the malcontents and anarchists lie discredited. The King-Emperor's visit has brought to the surface the innate loyalty of the people of India and the British Throne is as firmly established in their affections as it is here.

It is not the time to quarrel over phrases. Autonomy may mean much or it may mean little ; it may also be said that self-government on colonial lines is inapplicable to India. But as a question of practical politics one has to look, not to words, but to actual facts. What has happened since the Crown took over the government of the country from the East India Company a little over half a century ago? There were then no Legislative Councils and Indians occupied only very humble and subordinate positions in every branch of the public service. The first Legislative Council was established in 1862 on a tentative and cautious basis, and if we consider what has been the expansion of the Councils in just about 50 years, is it too much to hope that in course of time they will be as representative of the peoples of India as the Parliament here is of the British public? And as for the public services, there is no civil appointment which is not open to Indians who now occupy seats on the highest Courts of Justice and are also members of the inmost sanctuaries of Imperial and Provincial Governments. This may not be called autonomy but it is clearly a fair beginning of the participation of the people in the administration of their own country, and this participation

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instead of diminishing will go on expanding. The Hindus as well as the other communities of India are proud of the British connection and realise what it means to be citizens of a world-wide and beneficent Empire.

I will not enter here into the thorny and unpleasant question of the treatment of Indians in the self-governing colonies, but it is to be hoped that with the growth and strength of the popular element in the government of India on the one hand and a clearer perception by the colonists of their imperial obligations on the other a settlement will be arrived at which will be satisfactory to all concerned.

Indians are striving to improve their condition in all respects, moral, spiritual, industrial, and political, and above all to secure unity which can only be done through the English language and the British connection. The various provinces and peoples may advance and evolve on their own separate lines, but if Indians are ever to be one nation it will only be under the sovereignty of the British Crown. The great work of nation building has already begun, and if the course laid down is steadily pursued, it will not be long before the goal is reached. One sees the hand of Providence in the extraordinary circumstances which have brought England and India together. No country is better fitted than England to help and guide India in the great work of regeneration. What is wanted is more sympathy, more good feeling, and less distrust and less suspicion. When I think of the marvellous changes that have taken place within my own life-time I am filled with faith and hope, and I would conclude this imperfect address with the following words from one of your great statesmen as embodying the true principle of real imperialism.

"We are a constitutional country. But we are more than that. We are the head and governing centre of a vast Empire, largely acquired by conquest, within whose bounds are many races and many sovereignties profoundly different from my own. With patience, with tolerance, with skill, by the discipline of self-government, by shrewd or firm strokes of policy, we have in this generation and the last pursued, and are now pursuing, a mighty work of consolidation and of reconciliation which has continually tended to make a home within the Empire for all its peoples, so that their rights may be established and their creeds respected, and their traditions honoured, and so that we all may stand together in the high comradeship of freedom unbroken in the hour of trial."

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ASIA'S GRAND OLD MAN.

By Mr. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

IF there is an Asiatic alive to-day who may be said to belong to the whole continent rather than merely to the country which gave him birth, that person is Count Shigenobu Okuma. In his Motherland he has attained the highest rank that it is given to a statesman, sage, and educationist to achieve, and yet he has not permitted the duties and honours incidental to such a brilliant and arduous career to limit his mental horizon, or stunt his sympathies, but has found the time and possessed the inclination to think of the problems besetting the march of the Orient on the path of progress, and to assist in their solution.

The best proof of this is the fact that all Asiatics touring or sojourning in Japan long to catch a glimpse of Count Okuma, or, better still, talk with him. He is only one of the living "Elder Statesmen" of Nippon—leaders who have helped to change the face of Japan, converted a tiny island-kingdom of no significance, sunk deep in the mire of feudalism, into a mighty world-power whose naval and military successes have wrung unstinted praise from all nations and where industrial and economic growth has been marvellous—others of these great personages are still alive. But Count Okuma is the one amongst them who is eagerly sought out by Orientals when they visit the land of the Rising Sun. The reason for this is apparent. Whereas most of the illustrious men of the Sunrise Empire have permitted patriotic problems exclusively to occupy their attention—the temptation to do so being serious in consequence of the heaviness of the task of modernising the land—Count Okuma, though he has successively held the portfolios of Finance Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of Agriculture, and Prime Minister, and for years has been the Chancellor of the *Waseda* University of Tokyo, and the guiding spirit of the Japanese progressives, has not permitted himself to be completely absorbed by home politics but has acquainted himself with the political, economic, and social conditions of other lands. This establishes a peculiar bond of sympathy between the Count and all Orientals. Though he is now in his seventy-fifth year, he still keeps himself well informed about the trend of affairs in Asia—indeed, throughout the world. In fact, since, of late years, he has found more leisure for reading books and current literature, he has been able to keep in closer touch with what is going on outside Japan, and his interest in Oriental progress has become even deeper than it was before.

How well Count Okuma has familiarised himself with the topics of the time becomes at once apparent to anyone who meets him. He is able to talk with a native of any country about the problems which are stirring the minds of the leaders of that land. This, of course, is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that a corps of secretaries constantly are busy digesting and

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summarising articles in newspapers, magazines, and reviews from all over the globe, in order to retail the pith of current literature to their august employer, whose desire for knowledge is insatiable. Be it noted that the Count is not only well informed about the questions of the day, but also is deeply versed in the history and literature of both the Orient and the Occident.

Even wider than his knowledge of the world (and especially Asian) movements, is his rich sympathy for those who are seeking to advance humanity, and his readiness to aid such evolution. Naturally, being an experienced man of affairs, he has too much discernment to permit his time to be occupied with trivialities, but if you call to his attention some truly laudable effort, he is sure to be interested, and eager to help by sound advice, and often to give financial assistance, the endeavours which he has aided by liberal donations from his purse being many and varied.

His interest in propagandas making for Asiatic progress, and his sympathy with those who are behind these efforts, is particularly great. The reason for this is that Count Okuma, though venerable in years, and rich in knowledge and experience, in virtue of his ideals, methods, and temperament continues to be a progressive of progressives, as he has been all his life, and the Oriental evolution which is waking Asiatics from their slumber of ages and impelling them to bring themselvas abreast of the other enlightened nations, appeals to the best in him.

In view of the fact that he invariably has stood for the modernisation of the Orient, he is a "Young Oriental." In fact, his years' statemanship, sagacity, knowledge, and past record place him at the head of the Asiatics of the new school. All Orientals who meet him acclaim him the perfect flower of new Asia.

In Count Okuma are centred the pride of the young Orient, the aggressiveness of the new East, the awakening manhood of Asia arising from its centuries-long stupor. He is very much aggrieved to observe that many of the Eastern nations are still in a *coma*. He is sorry to see the generality of Asiatics lagging behind in the race of life, and grouped as members of "an inferior race." He wants the Orientals seriously to engage in the struggle for existence, and toughen their moral fibre.

Count Okuma especially is anxious that the Japanese shall continue to go forward. A few years ago, speaking at the Kobe Chamber of Commerce, he remarked :

"You can go anywhere with ease and pleasure under the protection of the Japanese fleet * * * * From old times India has been a land of treasure. * * * * * Why should not the Japanese stretch out their hands toward that country * * * * * ? The Japanese ought to go to India * * * * *."

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Such a statement, coming from so important a personage, caused so much comment that the Japanese leader felt constrained to disavow that he meant that his countrymen should politically subjugate India, but only proposed that, through peaceful methods they should wrest India's trade from the Occidental powers. This construction, however, was pooh-poohed by many writers who sought to point out the fallacy of the explanation.

To me, personally, such an interpretation of his words on this occasion appears to be quite sincere for when all is said and considered, this venerable statesman is not a "jingo". Some statements made by him at various times frankly may be admitted to have been characterised by strength, and sometimes, to have been even bellicose. These, however, were remarks made at moments when the Count's temperature was high and his emotions in a state of ebullation. As a general rule, however, his counsels have been of a soothing nature. Advancing years have especially strengthened the judicial habit of his mind, and turned him into an avowed (and, let it be emphasised, sincere) pacifist. In a recent article from his pen he declares :—

" Territorial expansion is a dream. Its time is gone, and peace has come upon the earth. * * * * The progress of peace must ultimately result in disarmament."

Indeed, as he is to-day, Count Okuma is an eminently well-balanced man. He is self-respecting, but is not possessed of an exaggerated ego. He is a man—every inch of him—but he also is a scholar and a student, and is possessed of a discriminating mind. Thus, he would resist aggression with all his might, yet it is not easy to offend his dignity or injure his susceptibilities. In a word in a unique manner he combines in his personality the fire of the young Orient and the calm of old Asia, the mother of many civilisations.

Besides possessing this singularly sane disposition, Count Okuma is a man of deep discernment. Versed in the ancient history and literature of the East, he is proud of Asia's contribution to the world's enlightenment. But he remembers the Orient of the Mediaeval Ages, when darkness spread over the whole continent, killing all that was best in its humanity. He realises (something which few Orientals of the " young " type grasp, that only a corner of this dense veil as yet has been lifted from the face of his continent, and that the East, despite the Japanese victories on the Manchurian battle fields, and in the Tushima Straits, still is as weak as a child when compared to the West—the full-grown man.

Therefore, Count Okuma, instead of being a firebrand who goads his followers to the brink of bloody conflicts, is a wise leader who induces his lieutenants to devote themselves to the cultivation of their intellects, and to the production of material welfare. He wishes to see Asia prepare itself for an industrial and intellectual struggle, for, in the last analysis, he thinks that it is in these arenas rather than on the battlefield that the race of modern

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life is to be run. Thus he is admirably fitted to be the leader of the new Orient, and to be chosen as the example after which Asiatics desiring to be truly progressive and yet not offensive upstarts should pattern their lives.

That Count Okuma should seek to reconcile the East and the West, rather than foment trouble between the two, is only to be expected, because, though an Oriental by nativity, from his earliest years he has been subjected to Occidental influences and has imbibed just as freely from the fount of Western knowledge as from the well of Eastern learning. To realise the full force of the statement that the Orient and Occident are blended in this man in a wholesome combination, it is only necessary to consider his career.

He was born in February, 1838, at Saga, in the Province of Hizen. His father, Nobuyasu Okuma, a *Samurai* (member of the warrior caste) holding an important place in the Saga clan, died when the child was eight years old. However, the youngster's widowed mother proved to be uncommonly sagacious, and brought him up wisely. First he was sent to an academy maintained by the Barons of his tribe, where he was given a good grounding in Chinese classics. Later he repaired to a missionary institution at Nagasaki where he learned English History, Mathematics, and the Bible. His Christian teachers also sought to instill in him the principles of Western civilisation.

When, in 1853, Commodore Perry visited Japan, Shigenobu Okuma was only fifteen years old, but, being wise much beyond his years, he took an intelligent interest in the events that led to the downfall of the old and the establishment of the new order of things in his land. To his credit let it be said that during that critical period he was able to see the folly of continuing the prevailing system, and threw himself on the side of modernisation.

In recognition of his progressive tendencies, upon the formation of the new Government, Shigenobu Okuma was appointed chief assistant in the department organised for the conduct of foreign affairs. This was the right post for the young man, because, despite the prejudices against foreigners which prevailed before Nippon saw the light, he had formed friendships with Christian missionaries—more particularly with Dr, Verbeck, his teacher—from whom he had imbibed the best of Western culture, and had sought to cultivate relations with aliens and assimilate their civilisation.

Some time later Count Okuma was promoted to be the Secretary in the department of the Interior and Finance. His next post was that of the President of the Japanese Commission charged with the duty of sending exhibits to the Vienna Exhibitions. From 1873 to 1881 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, first as a vice-Minister, but later as a member of the Cabinet.

While he was holding the last-named office, feeling that the time had come for the introduction of a constitutional government in the Daybreak Empire, he drew up a memorial urging this innovation, which he proposed to submit to the Emperor. However, his colleagues would not

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listen to this proposal and sought to dissuade him from carrying it into effect. The Count did not change his mind, but left the Cabinet and formed the *Kokuminto* the Progressive party, in order to carry on agitation for the democratisation of Japan.

A year prior to the promulgation of the Constitution—*e. g.*, 1888—Count Okuma again found himself holding a cabinet portfolio. This time he was sent back to the department of Foreign Affairs, and made Minister of it. As a part of his work, he was called upon to revise treaties with the great Powers. Nippon's army and navy had not then distinguished themselves, nor in any other way had the Japanese established their title to being accorded equality of treatment by the Occidental nations. Naturally, Count Okuma was called upon to make compromises which, at a latter stage, would not have been required. His desire to make the best of a bad job gave umbrage to his hot-headed countrymen, one of whom, Kurushima Tsuneki by name, took it upon himself to wreak vengeance upon the diplomat for "betraying" Japan. He waited, one day, until the great man came out of the Foreign Office and entered his carriage, and then threw at him a bomb which exploded and injured him so seriously that, in order to save his life, it was necessary to amputate his leg at the knee. The malcontent fatally stabbed himself as soon as he had thrown the bomb, thus acting as his own executioner.

Following the perpetration of this tragedy, Count Okuma resigned his office, but as soon as he recovered he took up the propaganda of advancing democracy in his Motherland and vigorously led the *Kokuminto*. In 1896, he once again entered the Cabinet as Foreign Minister. He retained this position only for a short time.

Some time later he formed a coalition with Count Itagaki, and, in 1908, was called to office as the Premier, in addition to which he retained the portfolio of foreign Affairs. This Cabinet was a short-lived one, and since its dissolution the Count has made no effort to regain office.

Some years ago he relinquished the active leadership of the political party founded by him in the Eighties. Since then he has devoted himself almost exclusively to furthering the cause of education and social reform.

At present *Waseda* University—which is the largest private University in the country, numbering about 6,000 students on its rolls, and famous for courses in politics, sociology, and commerce—claims the paramount attention of Count Okuma, who founded it in 1882 under the name of *Tokyo Semmon Gakko*. The distinguishing feature of this institution is that it has nothing to do with the Government. It receives no subsidy from the Administration, nor is it under the authority of the national Educational Department. Indeed, Count Okuma told me that he founded the University primarily for the purpose of imparting scholastic training along broad, liberal lines, without the interference of Government officials, whose influence (he said) always has a deleterious effect upon the independent nature of education. This institution

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undoubtedly was started as an adjunct to the Progressive Party founded a few months prior to the establishment of the *Tokyo Semmon Gakko*, and it has resulted in turning out thousands of graduates impressed with the ideals of the founder. Thus it has materially helped to advance the cause of democracy in Dai Nippon.

The graduates and students of *Waseda* University are extravagantly fond of Count Okuma, and look upon him as their Master and friend. His annual address, delivered in his capacity of Chancellor, is an event looked forward to with great anticipation by the pupils.

Another institution in which this Grand Old Man takes great interest is the Japanese Women's University in Tokyo, the foundation and success of which owes much to Count Okuma, who was one of the first Orientals to realise the necessity of educating and modernising Asiatic women. From his youth to this day he has continuously worked for feminine emancipation. Naturally the educated women of Nippon regard him as their benefactor, and revere him as a saint.

Female emancipation forms only one unit of the Count's social reform propaganda, another important item on the programme being the crusade against vice. When, some time ago, the *Yoshiwara*—the quarter devoted to prostitution—burnt down in Tokyo, the venerable-statesman boldly advocated that this place should not be rebuilt. He wrote :

"Lincoln proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves because he considered slavery the greatest sin ever committed by mankind. It was the same belief which actuated our Government to issue, as far back as 1872, an ordinance declaring that the unhappy women held against their will by their masters should be set free. Had this declaration been carried out to the letter, the licensed quarters in Tokyo, and, indeed, in all parts of the country, would have long since become a thing of the past. But the practical difficulties which had to be overcome in the execution of the ordinance must have seemed to the authorities insurmountable, and the commendable declaration was permitted to fall into '*innocuous desuetude*.' Yet the same ordinance must still remain binding, inasmuch as we never heard of the Privy Council having repealed it. The abolition of the licensed quarters, therefore, calls for no new legislation ; it is only necessary to disinter the old ordinance from oblivion and urge the authorities to enforce it."

Count Okuma then went on to declare that the maintenance of licensed quarters was an affront to the Imperial Edict of 1905, urging the educational authorities to lay great emphasis upon the ethical training of the rising generation. He pointed out that Japanese boys and girls were taught in the public schools to cultivate all the qualities and virtues calculated to make them morally strong, but, he asked, " how can we expect them to grow moral and noble when we set before their eyes an example of shameful immorality by maintaining an ignoble institution. "

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For an Oriental, Count Okuma, at seventy-five, is unusually vigorous, physically as well as mentally. His interest in the affairs of his own country and the world at large continues unabated. He frequently mounts the platform, and whether he speaks in the Capital or in the Provinces, the lecture halls are packed with men and women who, though calm, imperterbable Easterners, vociferously express their approval of the sentiments that he utters. He also writes many pamphlets and newspapers and magazine articles, his *chef d'oeuvre*, it may be noted in passing, being "Fifty Years of New Japan," a monumental work on the history of modern Nippon.

Now, as in his youth, Count Okuma retains his love for fashionable dress which brought him the nickname of "High-kara-son" (high-collared gentleman, or fop). Whether dressed in European or native clothes, he always presents a trim, stylish appearance. So anxious is he to look smart that when his leg was amputated he had an American surgeon fit him with an artificial limb, and now only a slight limp betrays the fact that his leg is not perfect.

The Count finds his chief recreation in horticulture. He owns one of the finest private gardens in Japan, where he proudly shows his guests the best specimens of dwarfed maples and other trees, miniature azalias, camellias, and rare orchids. He is extremely hospitable, and his fetes and soirees are justly celebrated. Courteous, kind, and urbane, he makes all feel at home.

Count Okuma has not been gifted with a son. His heir, therefore, is his son-in-law, who, according to the Japanese custom, has taken the family name of his wife, and is now known as Nobutsune Okuma. He is the second son of Count Matsura.

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THE COMMON BASIS OF RELIGION.

By Mr. K. C. KANJILAL.

THE problem of religion, or man's bond of union or communion with God, is mainly concerned with two important issues : first, what is the nature and extent of our knowledge of God ? Second, what is the common basis of all religions on which a universal system can be built up ?

The conception of the Divine Nature is as old as the date of creation. From time immemorial man's mind has been exercised to attain to a true knowledge of the Divinity. The Vedas inculcate monotheism. The unity of Godhead is also the doctrine of the Koran. As in the Christian doctrine of Trinity—God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost—there is unity of Godhead in the three-fold character of revelation, fulfilment, and inspiration of law or truth, so the Hindu triad of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva represents the three-fold power of creation, preservation, and destruction inherent in the One Absolute Being. The numerous deities of the Hindu pantheon represent either abstract qualities or concrete objects, the former being a manifestation God in mind, the latter in nature. The image in which any of these is worshipped is simply a medium intended for obtaining knowledge of God through mental attributes or for rising from Nature to Nature's God.

The beautiful and harmonious design manifest in the universe unmistakably points to an Intelligent Designer. The Atomic or Evolution theory fails to account for the origin of creation. Matter is dull and inert. By no process of combination or separation of its properties, such as length, breadth, thickness, elasticity,cohesion, &c. can it be endued with thought or design. The stupendous works of creation, the mountains, the seas, the sun, the moon, the starry firmament, etc., have each a manifest design to fulfil. The sun is intended to give light and heat, can it be contended that the atoms composing the substance of the sun held a council among themselves before its formation with a view to produce it for the purpose it is meant to subserve ? The Atomic theory, then,—that the universe is the result of a fortuitous combination of atoms, that there has been cosmos out of chaos—fails to solve the problem of the origin of creation.

The design theory, however, fails to establish the capacity of finite intellect to comprehend an Infinite Intelligence. God is perfect and absolute ; we are finite and imperfect beings.

Is it possible for the finite to attain to a knowledge of the Infinite ? Can the imperfect realise conciousness of perfection ? A little consideration will show that God is not unknownable as the Sankhya Philosophy and Positivism would have us believe. Our finite and imperfect knowledge implies the conception or the ideal of what is Infinite and perfect. The knowledge of a limit implies an actual transcendence of it. There is a vast difference between our ideal of perfection and our actual attainment. However great our progress towards it may be, we are conscious that it yet falls far short of our ideal. We are conscious of our moral infirmities, yet we can feel that there is no point of moral progress beyond which we may not aspire. We know that our knowledge is limited nevertheless, there is no limit to it in our conception. This boundless capacity of progress, while we have a

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secret ideal of perfection immeasurably higher than our highest actual attainments, is what is called a potential infinitude in our nature as spiritual beings. That is to say, the spiritual nature and life of man are capable of realising the consciousness of God and our essential relation to him. We can only be conscious of imperfection because we have within us, latent or explicit, a standard of absolute perfection by which we measure ourselves. The soundness of this proposition is confirmed even by common experience. We can pronounce one's conduct as bad or unjust because we have our idea of goodness and justice. God is absolute and perfect, and our knowledge of Him as such is involved in the knowledge of ourselves as relative and imperfect. It is our knowledge of God the relation of our nature as spiritual beings to Him which alone gives reality to our partial knowledge and makes us aware that it is partial.

It may be contended that the conception of our imperfect knowledge is forced upon us by the presence of any intelligence relatively greater, however imperfect in itself ; that nothing so vast as the knowledge of an Infinite Being is needed in order to make us conscious of our own finitude. But it is forgotten that the standard of measurement of our finitude is applicable to all stages of human attainment. It is a standard which, whatever, may be the degree of our spiritual progress, would still reveal to us our own imperfection. We do not ultimately measure our knowledge or become conscious of its limited and imperfect character by comparison with any man's knowledge because that also may be imperfect and erroneous. But by referring to an absolute knowledge, we invariably act on the conviction that it is an infallible standard and unultimate criterion of certitude.

Even scepticism cannot avoid the conclusion which it attempts to dispute. In the very act of doubting, it arrogates to itself a knowledge which it asserts it does not possess. To be able to pronounce human knowledge as defective and imperfect, the sceptic must necessarily have an ideal of absolute and perfect knowledge in comparison with which his verdict is pronounced. The very denial of an absolute intelligence in us could have no other significance but as a tacit appeal to its presence. An implied knowledge of God in this sense is proved by the very attempt to deny it.

The fact that God is not cognisable to the senses does not affect our knowledge of Him. The mind equally with God is invisible, yet we know what our mind is. That is to say, we know God by His attributes, such as omnipotence, omniscience, justice, mercy, &c., just as we know the mind by its functions such as perception, imagination, memory, attention, &c.

According to addition, by adding infinitude to any kind of perfection we enjoy, and by joining all these different kinds of perfection in One Being, we form our idea of the great sovereign of Nature. Our ideas of justice and mercy, for instance, are limited and imperfect ; by adding infinitude to them, we obtain an idea of infinite justice and mercy, and so on with regard to other moral qualities. This shows that there is a vast gulf between the functions of the soul and the attributes of the Deity. "The soul in relation to God is like the asymptotes of a hyperbola which draw nearer and nearer, but never touch." In the Bible it is said that man was made after the image of God, which means that the Divine essence is reflected on the human soul. The soul makes a near approach to its prototype or falls away from it according as it is spiritually

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developed or depraved. As a dirty mirror does not reflect objects clearly, so a vitiated or corrupt soul does not transparently reflect the Divine image. Purity of soul is an essential condition of seeking after God. The requisite qualification is moral rather than intellectual. Neither the cobwebs of metaphysics of the schoolmen, nor the proud philosophy of the positivist or the evolutionist has succeeded in throwing any light on this important subject. "The first condition of success," as observed by Professor Tyndall, "is an honest receptivity and a willingness to abandon all preconceived notions, however cherished, if they be found to contradict the truth."

According to the Bhagavat Geeta and the philosophy of Descartes the knowledge of our soul is the foundation of all knowledge relating to God and the universe. The cartesian theory is based upon the dictum *cogito ergo sum*—I think therefore I exist. Taking our stand upon this ground we rise to the perception of the existence of the Diety. For our belief in his existence is an irrefragable proof that He exists. Otherwise, whence does this belief arise? Since nothing can come out of nothing and since no effect can be without a cause, it follows that the idea we have of God must have an origin, and this origin, whatever name we give it, is no other than God. Thus our ultimate proof of His existence is our idea of it.

Our knowledge of God or truth is introspective or intuitional and not experiential or developmental. If seeking after God were to depend upon training or education, then, as the major part of mankind are ignorant or uneducated, they would be hopelessly debarred from the privilege. Such a hypothesis would be inconsistent with the Divine attributes of justice and mercy. God is truth. Want of knowledge of such truth in consequence of want of education would lead men astray from the right path. Such moral anomaly cannot be reconciled with the omniscience, infinite justice and mercy of God. Moral responsibility under the providence of a just and beneficent Ruler implies an intuitive perception of truth. The theory of intuition, then, is a key to the solution of the important problem—how to know or seek after God. There is a sufficient provision in our moral constitution fitting us for the inquiry. Our religious relation to God—the transcendence of all that is finite and relative, and the elevation of the finite spirit to communion with an Infinite and Absolute Spirit—is a thing which is involved in the very nature of man. In the nature of man as an intelligent, self-conscious being, there is provision made enabling him to rise above what is material and finite, and to find the realisation of his natural yearning in an Infinite Spiritual Perfection. An earnest spirit of enquiry after truth is a *sine qua non* of Divine knowledge. Our soul naturally yearns after God and truth.

As a river runs into the sea, so our soul pants after Infinite Perfection unless there is an impediment obstructing its free and spontaneous flow. Above all, what food is to the body, religion is to the soul. As starvation causes physical death, so irreligion causes spiritual death ornegation of humanity.

When we have known that God is Absolute and Perfect, we have still to enquire whether His providence is general or particular, in other words, whether His established laws of nature by which the universe is set going are mere substitutes for His own action or whether these laws or forces are no other than His Will-force. For, in the former alternative, God is reduced to a mere mechanical harmony or order, and not a living personality to whom our nature instinctively offers love and veneration. The philosophical name for the latter conception is the immunance of God—God not outside but in the universe. The relation of the

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physical universe to God is analagous to that of our body to our soul. It is the mind or the soul which excites or stimulates the bodily actions. When the eye sees, the ear hears, the tongue speaks, it is through the mental energy transfused into these organs. The intimate connection between the body and the mind does not imply that my body is myself, the ego. Similarly the universe is the body of God but as it is gross to confound the body with the man, so it is gross to confound the universe with God—which is Pantheism. Pantheism and the immunance of God do not mean the same thing, and belief in the immunance does not involve Pantheism. Pantheism is the doctrine that All is God and God is All, that every existence is Deity and that Deity is every existence, that God and the universe are coterminous and identical. "The Immunance of God," says Dr. Martineau, "is by no means opposed to the trancendency of God, that the fact of Divine action being everywhere and always through the physical universe, affords no inference that there are not spheres of Divine existence transcending and beyond that universe." Pantheism denies that the One Infinite Being is a person—is a free, holy and loving intelligence. It represents our consciousness of freedom and sense of responsibility as illusions. God, according to Pantheism, alone is. All individual existences are merely His manifestations, all our deeds, whether good or bad, are His actions, and yet while All is God, and God is All, there is no God who can hear us or understand us—no God to love us or care for us—no God able or willing to help us. Pantheism represents absorption in Deity, the losing of self in God as the highest good of humanity, but this is a mere caricature of that idea of communion with God in which religion must find its realisation, as Pantheism leaves neither a self to surrender nor a personal God to whom to surrender it. The absorption of the finite in the infinite which Pantheism preaches is as different from that surrender of the soul to God dwelling in us and we in God, as night is from day, as death is from life.

As to the second part of the problem under consideration *viz* the common basis of religion it may be observed that it is only in the observance of rituals or rites, the modes of worship or prayer, and in the performance religious or domestic ceremonies and not in cardinal principle, that there are differences in religion. The Hindu may recite his *mantras* in a temple, the Mahommedan perform his *namaz* in a mosque, and the Christian say his prayers in a church, but all these are meant to express, in a place dedicated to Divine service, our feelings of reverence and gratitude to the same Almighty Father, for it is the one and the same being of whom the Vedas, the Koran and the Bible speak. Thus a liberal interpretation of the real character of these three systems of religion and of others which may be similarly explained, goes to show that there is perfect harmony among them. Considered in their essential basic principles, they are not rival and antagonistic, but friendly and co-operative institutions having one common object in view, *i. e.*, to promote equality, fraternity and piety.

Reconciliation of the fundamental points of faith is not however of so much practical importance as improvement in the moral tone of religions. Religion may be considered under two general heads. The first comprehends what we are to believe, the other what we are to practise for the regulation of our conduct and the discharge of our duties. The one is the province of faith, the other of morality. Faith seems to draw its principle, if not all its excellence from the influence it has upon morality, and no article of faith can be true and authentic that weakens or subverts morality which is the practical part of religion.

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Religious rites and ceremonies are intended to produce good moral results—o form an excellent moral character by purifying the heart. It cannot be said that purity of heart can be attained only by minute and punctilious observance of such rites and ceremonies and not otherwise. Such being the case, want of uniformity in their observance, is not of any practical moment. Moral efficacy is the true test of their usefulness and if that is secured, although by different methods, religious antipathy or persecution based upon such want of uniformity, is highly unjustifiable. Prosely tising zeal to be of any value should be directed to make converts to ideas of sound morality which are invariable and universal, and not to those of customary or religious formalities which are variable and local. The moral standard being common to all systems of true religion, can easily reconcile all differences in them and will meet with little or no opposition. The excellent moral teachings of the Bible are acceptable to a Hindu or Mohammedan whose Geeta and the Koran may be read with advantage by a Christian. Manu Sanhita defines or enumerates the ten distinctive features of *dharma* or religion as follows. Patience, forgiveness, self control, non-stealing or want of covetousness, purity, restraint of the senses or passions, wisdom, learning, truthfulness, equanimity or want of irritability.

Christ's sermons are full of admirable lessons on morality which are well-known, some of them are mentioned here in order to show that they are counterpart of moral precepts imparted by Hinduism and Buddhism. Blessed are the pure in spirit for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the meek : for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God. &c.

The following are a few extracts from the Dharmmapada an excellent collection of the moral precepts of Buddha. "Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men that hate us let us live free from hatred. Let one overcome anger by love, evil by good, the greedy by liberality and the liar by truth."

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TERCENTENARY OF JOHN COMPANY'S FIRST CHARTER.

By Rev. ARTHUR R. SLATER.

IT would be a difficult matter to count the number of charters which the East India Company obtained from the ruling princes of India, rulers of great dynasties and chieftains of small territories, during the time they held sway in India. The nature of these treaties changed as the position of the Company changed from that of a mere trading company to that of a ruling power. The first traders had only one object in coming to India, and for the furtherance of that object they early recognised the necessity for being on friendly terms with the princes and chieftains who held powers in the regions in which they wished to open up commerce. The thought of conquest was farthest from their minds. In this they were different from the other Governments Companies which had the countenance of their respective Governments, and which continually sought to gain political power over the Indians. The means taken to gain this power were far from straight. Their history shews how determined they were at all costs to combine political power with commerce. The English traders were intent on establishing a lucrative trade between England and the East. There was no thought of force for the only military and naval precautions they took were those essential to trade in those days, especially in a land where there were innumerable freebooters against whom some sort of protection was necessary. They sought to gain the favour of the people and the ruling chiefs by peaceful means, and only in self-defence did they ever essay to use their arms. It is three hundred years, February 6th, 1613, since the first important agreement was made with the Emperor Jehangir, by which the East India Company obtained the right to trade freely in this country. This agreement marks the date of the beginning of England's relation to India, a relation which gradually was strengthened until its power was felt throughout the whole peninsula. The story of how this was gained, together with some of its chief provisions is worthy of being told for it shows how bravely our forefathers were able to fight against the strongest European powers three hundred years ago when their services were required in the cause of the Empire.

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At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese were the power to be reckoned with, and any attempt on the part of another country to open up trade with the countries in the East met with the severest opposition. They had for many years been the ruling power in the East and exacted from many of the rajahs rights to trade, and in many cases, the monopoly of the trade. They had formed a strong fleet and it was supposed no power would dare to offer it any attack. The great sea-fight which took place at the end of the year 1612 when Captain Best shattered the Portuguese, was most decisive, and gave the English a status in the eyes of the Indian princes they had never before held. The English traders for several years were content with what trade they could get in the Spice Islands, and for several years they made no real attempt to enter into relations with the Indian rulers. In 1607 Captain Hawkins had proceeded to the court of the Emperor Jehangir with a letter from James the First, but, despite the promises of the Emperor, and the pledges of Hawkins, confirmed by his marrying a white maiden out of his palace, the long stay he made in Agra proved in vain. Two years later some merchants gained an unstable footing in Surat, but they had not received any firman from the rulers. The attempts of Sir Henry Middleton made in 1610 to trade with Surat were frustrated by the Portuguese who dispatched a fleet against him. The action of the Portuguese in preventing the English traders from landing on this occasion made the Directors determine to take the necessary steps to break the power of their enemy. Accordingly a small fleet, commanded by Captain Best, set sail with orders to conciliate the goodwill of the Indian Emperor, to open up trade, and if necessary to drive off the Portuguese. The expedition could not well have been entrusted to a better man than Best, and right well did he prove his metal. The Red Dragon was a small vessel purchased from the Earl of Cumberland, the Hosiander, the second vessel was much smaller. These arrived off Swally at the mouth of the Tapti River toward the month of October, and in November they were called upon to do battle with the enemy's ships, four in number, and mounting over 120 guns. These ships were attended by thirty frigates or rowed galleys for boarding. It was the intention of the captain to capture the two English vessels, but he had to reckon with a man who never lost an opportunity of attacking his enemy in the weakest point, and who was quick to say where that point was. Best noted that the Portuguese admiral and vice-admiral were separated by

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the tide and shoals from the rest of the ships, so he promptly bore down on the two great ships with the 'Red Dragon' and the 'Hosiander'. Unfortunately the second ship could not get clear of her anchors so the small one was forced to fight the keen struggle alone. But Best was a clever and cool commander, and undaunted in the face of danger. He steered straight for the enemy, and not until he was between the admiral and vice-admiral did he commence firing. Then he poured such a volley of shot into the two vessels that "by an hour he had well-peppered them with some fifty shot", and forced them to seek a place of safety. The 'Red Dragon' did not altogether escape, for her mainmast struck and her longboat was sunk by cannon balls. But Best was ready the next morning, and the two little ships again salled forth. The position was in favour of the English vessels. In those days the mouth of the Surat estuary was silted up with sand and there were dangerous currents. The silt of the Tapti river formed a long shoal at high water along the coast. In this shoal lay the Swally anchorage, 7 miles long and one and a half miles broad, with sandpits and bars on the shore side. It was a capital ground for the little English ships which were able to move about much more easily than the heavy Portuguese vessels. The Hosiander showed what fighting there was in it, for the old record says that she "danced the hay about them so that they durst not show a man on the hatches". The fight continued all day, and a fire ship sent by the enemy toward the English ships was sunk by cannon balls. There was a rest on December 1st, and on the 2nd Best tried to draw the Portuguese, but for the present they had had enough. On the 22nd of December fighting again took place and continued till the next day when Best attacked the strong forces of the enemy which ended in a complete route. The fight had been watched by crowds of Indian soldiers on the shores who changed their opinion of the fighting powers of the English whom they always considered as merely traders. Having shown their prowess the traders were able to open negotiations for trade rights on a more satisfactory basis. The running fight for a whole month had completely shattered the power of the Portuguese, a power she had built up as the result of sea victories of a hundred years. The rajahs were now only too ready to look with favour on the English, and many offered to give the Company the necessary firmans. Best was determined that everything should be done in order, so he demanded that the local rajahs should receive the sanction of the Emperor to their proposals. The first treaty so arranged

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declared that all the grievances which had arisen from the reprisals of Sir Henry Middleton should be buried, that the goods sold or bought by the Company's traders should be subjected only to a fixed duty of three and a half per cent; that the factors should not be molested; that all care should be taken of the buildings in possession of the Company; that in the event of the death of English factors, the Company's property should be kept safe by the Indian authorities for delivery to the next fleet. This agreement with the Governor of Surat was entered into in December, but it was not till February 6th, 1613, that the Royal Firman was duly signed by the Emperor and presented to Best. It is interesting to note that Best was annoyed at the unceremonious way in which the firman was presented. He evidently recognised the importance of the occasion, though he little guessed what a valuable document it was to become, for he demanded that the firman should be presented with full Oriental ceremony. This was done, and thus was laid the foundation stone of the British Empire in India. Without the decisive battle fought by Captain Best such a foundation would not have been possible for all the attempts of the traders to open up commerce would have been frustrated by the stronger forces of the Portuguese.

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AGRICULTURE IN INDIA.

By Mr. MUKUT BIHARI LAL BHARGAVA, B. A.

AGRICULTURE has been since time immemorial and is even at the present day, the occupation and only source of maintenance of the millions in India. The only other important avocation—weaving—has practically disappeared and the modern mills provide employment to an infinitisimally small fraction of the populace. In accordance, therefore, with the old adages that 'practice makes perfect' the Act of Agriculture should have reached a very high degree of perfection, but the actual condition of it is legible even to the swiftest runner. The Indian farmers are the poorest lot of humanity on the face of the wide earth. We shall in this paper try to find out the reasons of this poverty and consider the means whereby the condition of the Agrarian classes can be ameliorated.

India is, from an agricultural point of view, an old country and the inevitable law of the 'Diminishing Returns' has been in force for a considerable time past. Every increase of capital and labour to this industry brings a proportionately much smaller return. Any remedy that can be suggested for stopping or at least retarding this exhaustion of the productive power of the soil can be only temporary. Introduction of electricity and steam, employment of scientific irrigators and other tools, or of richer manures, &c., &c. may for some time yield constant or even increasing return to every additional dose of capital labour but after a time the law of 'diminishing' returns is bound to set in again.

As practically the entire country lives on agriculture the result has been that even the lands on the margin of cultivation have been brought under the plough. The cultivators of such soil can after infinite toil, only manage to make their two ends meet. But as the struggle for existence is keen and there is practically no other means of livelihood for these poor classes, they are obliged to make a living, however precarious from such soil.

Again the success or failure of agriculture is to a considerable extent dependent upon nature. For its success, the rain fall must not vary greatly from time to time, it must be regular, punctual and intermittent. Failure of these conditions in the yearly monsoon, or visits of other calamities over which man has no control, such as untimely appearance of hail storms, means failure of crops and subsequent distress of the populace in general and the agriculture classes in particular.

These are some of the inherent disadvantages under which an agricultural country like India is bound to labour. We have seen brighter pictures painted of agriculture in ancient or even in medieval India; but it is idle to conclude from it that the country was formerly immune from the operations of the laws

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of nature and the vagaries of weather any more than it is now. The safer conclusion would of course be that other concomitant factors of agricultural life were more favourable at that time. For instance agriculture was assisted by other domestic industries which have almost wholly disappeared now owing to the keen competition with machine made products of the west.

The proper remedy for bettering the condition of Indian agriculture is, paradoxical though it may at first sight appear, the gradual replacement of the art by manufactures and industries. Not that agriculture must be given up altogether. It must be resorted to only so far as is consistent with the needs of the country—capital and labour should be diverted more and more to manufacturing industries. [We shall in a separate paper discuss the advantages of manufactures and industries for a country like ours.]

But so long as that does not happen it is incumbent that steps are taken to improve the miserable condition of the agriculturists and in this cause the Goverment, the people *i.e.* the educated and the moneyed classes and the agriculturists themselves should make a combined effort.

The question of the State demand is the most important problem for consideration. In ancient times, this demand was generally moderate as the then Government had realised that a nation could not prosper if the soil was over-assessed. One tenth or thereabout of the produce was regarded as the proper contribution to the State Exchequer. The case now is different. The agriculturist is now bled to the last drop and is left no margin for any savings, not only that, but if he can manage somehow to make his two ends meet he is considered to be liable to an increase in rent at the next settlement and the eyes of the greedy revenue assistant are always turned towards him. To this state of affairs the malpractices of the intermediaries or the direct immediate collectors of revenue such as patwaris and kanungoes contribute a good deal, no doubt.

The late Mr. R. C. Dutta has, in his "Open Letters to Lord Curzon" discussed the question of land revenue in a masterly fashion and has come to the right conclusion that in order that the land holders in India may prosper the first necessary step that should be taken is to readjust revenue demands on a basis strictly in conformity with the existing pecuniary condition of the agriculturists. Side by side with this readjustment he advocates the extension of the permanent settlement to the whole country, but failing that he suggests that a definite part of the produce of the soil should be fixed as the proper share of the State. He recommends "Extension of the terms of settlement and enhancement of revenue at recurring settlements on certain definite conditions such as increase in the price of crops, resort to civil courts to settle the ryot's objections to a new assessment. These conditions very nearly approach those of the Permanent Settlement. The British Government will be doing an act of simple justice if it gives effect to these proposals entirely or even partially.

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In most cases the agriculturists are already so deep in debt that unless an entire settlement of their liabilities is effected nothing can protect them from the thorny clutches of their creditors. In by no means a few places the majority of the ryots have to borrow even their seed grain for the next crop. In order to help the zamindars in this miserable position both the Government and the people should exert themselves. The Government should clear a part of their debts by advancing them money in the form of *taccavi* to be recoverable in very easy instalments. In the Punjab the British Government has tried to combat the evil by restricting the peasants power to sell his land except to members of *bona fide* agricultural tribes. This acts as a very powerful check on the village Bania who not unoften used to buy up the entire holdings of the ryots in payment of his debts. But the Act has some disadvantages also which are more or less serious. A better solution, however, of the problem of agricultural indebtedness is the establishment of Village Land Banks and Co-operative Credit Societies. Such banks and societies serve a two-fold purpose. In the first place the peasants are enabled to borrow money at low rates of interest and in the second they discourage the peasants' tendency to borrow imprudently and to spend the loan on unproductive purposes. The movement of Co-operative Credit in India is still in its infancy. The U. P. Government advanced 2½ crores of rupees during the famine of 1907-08, a sum considerably exceeding four times the aggregate working capital of every kind of Co-operation Credit Society in the Province. This fact alone demonstrates the enormous scope for the development of the co-operative movement. But the progress so far made and the results so far achieved by these societies are not certainly discouraging as they are doing useful work. Sir Leslie Porter, sometime officiating Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, referring to his own province once said that the results (of the movement of Co-operative Credit) afford ground for the confident hope that in time the great economic advantages of Co-operation Credit will be recognised by a large section of the agricultural population of the country.

Another step towards improving the condition of Indian peasants is the increased provision of irrigation facilities. Lord Curzon once said :—"The subject of irrigation is one that appeals very closely to my concern. We are all familiar with the aphorism about the services of the statesman who can make two blades of grass grow where one grew before and in India we need not be reminded of the twice and almost immediate benefit of the agrarian class that results from an increase in the area of cultivation." "Good maxims and well pronounced" but "they will be better if well followed." No doubt the British Government has been constructing canals to meet the situation and public expenditure on irrigation has greatly increased recently and the results have been equally good to agriculture and public finance. But there is infinite scope for further extension of Irrigation works. Instead of spending so much on army and on railways if the Government spends

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for irrigation only a moiety of this expenditure the benefit to the agricultural population in particular and to the entire country in general would be untold indeed.

So far about the help which is required by the agriculturist from the Government and the people. He must exert himself also to improve his condition. The Indian peasant is proverbially extravagant in spite of his poverty on the occasions of births, funerals and marriages in his family. On such occasions he will borrow money which he cannot repay during his life-time. Sometimes even the interest on this loan is enough to swallow his entire savings which he effects by curtailing some of the bare necessities of life. This habit of extravagance can be checked by the establishment of village banks as said above and by education.

The ignorance of these men is as complete as it is distressing. Improved schools, enormous educational grants and a general zeal for instructing the poor have failed to educate them. The remedy should therefore come from within or it lies in compulsion. The Indian farmer often sends his boys to the village school when they are young but they are obliged to leave school after a year or two either because the school cannot give further education and the parents cannot afford to send their boys to towns or because the parents believe that the labour of the boys in the field would be a source of help to them. Thus when children leave school when 8 or 9 years old, to become plough boys the little that he has learnt is soon forgotten and the consequence is that in the majority of villages there is not one man who can read or write. Parents are accused of neglecting their childrens' welfare but how can we expect those who are so miserably poor, who are ignorants themselves and know not the value of knowledge to sacrifice the two annas a day that a boy of 10 years may readily earn or forego the help he may give them in field labour.

In his speech the other day H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Agricultural Institute at Cawnpore, deplored the fact that while the institute is attended by a good number of interested students yet not one of the actual *bona fide* agricultural class has joined the college. The same holds good of the Agricultural Institute at Pusa. The Free and Compulsory Primary Education Bill of the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale is the proper remedy for this serious draw back and if it is passed it will be a great step towards the regeneration of India. In regard to want of education and poverty of Indian agriculturists it can be said that both act and react upon each other and it is therefore necessary that both of them are attacked simultaneously.

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MEDICAL AND SANITARY REFORMS.

By "AN INDIAN DOCTOR."

AS law and order are the mainstays of every civilised form of Government the Civil Service of a country forms therefore the backbone of its administration, and ranks as of first importance in every discussion of administrative problems. There is thus nothing unusual in its being taken up first by the Royal Commissioners entrusted with a real and impartial enquiry into the present condition of the public services in India. But it must not be supposed that the Civil Service by itself could by any means be of much good without the active and loyal co-operation of sister services ; and when, sooner or later, the Commission takes them up in their turn for enquiry it will surely come to discover facts and grievances of a more serious import than mere amusing discursions in racial eugenics. The medical service of the country in all its grades is certainly one of them ; and it must be said that not only has its due claim to importance been systematically neglected in view of the undeniable fact that India is the home of almost all diseases, but that its peculiar and almost direct bearing on administration has been entirely lost sight of. Even at this distant date it is not difficult to recall how the East India Company, the predecessors of our present day Government obtained their first charter to establish trading centres in Bengal from the Mogul Emperor—Shah Jehan. It was given as a reward to Surgeon Gabriel Boughton who cured the Imperial princess. It was again another medical man—William Hamilton who cured the Emperor Farrukh Seyer, but entirely disregarding the question of personal gain, acquired the lands of Calcutta for the same Company, and thus laid the foundation of British India. But the Indian Government has done too little for the advancement of the medical science to which it thus practically owes its existence, and this indictment of indifference in the prosecution of the most necessary medical and sanitary reforms ever lies at its door and hardly bears a testimony to its gratitude. It has surely made Calcutta and equipped it with all modern luxuries, its gay surroundings and the round of state entertainments attracted moneyed people from all parts, and the landed aristocracy of Bengal in particular, who live there most of the year in luxurious indolence caring little for their miserable tenantry left to the mercy of malaria, cholera and plague. It has also bestowed the boon of local self-Government all round in haste to stifle the clamour of the political agitators, and thus failed to stipulate that its main function should be the preservation of the health of the people and sanitary improvements of their surroundings. Most of the local bodies under this regime have therefore not only failed to serve their purpose for want of this all-important guiding principle, but have actually degenerated into mere stepping stones for honours and higher civic distinctions, and dumping grounds for intellectual imbeciles and undesireables of all description. Bengal, for instance, is a notoriously unhealthy part of the country, but did the Indian Government that had its home there over 150 years ever care to seriously enquire as to how many of these self-governing bodies which impose taxes ranging from 20 to 25% on the rent valuation of dwelling houses entertained sanitary experts to advise them ? Its efforts at sanitary improvements have always been spasmodic and they have now culminated into holding periodic conferences that resulted lately in an announcement of a munificent gift of Rs. 50,000 to clear the rank vegetation and jungles of Bengal !

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A peaceful development of a tropical country like India depends first and foremost upon the health of those sent out to direct its administration and natural resources, but surely next upon that of the population whose labour is required to make both successful. Thus it is not difficult to understand that every reduction in the incidence of disease and the rate of invaliding, and every life saved did not amount merely to so much human suffering averted, but it rendered more possible the agricultural and commercial development of the country which directly ensured a prosperous condition of both the state and nation's exchequer. Seeing again that a healthy body can only house a healthy mind the influence of a medical man who alleviates physical suffering and restores an individual to health must necessarily be great, for good or otherwise, not only over the mental condition of his patient, but that of those near and dear to him. But unfortunately the importance and efficiency of the agency of medical men in shaping the political ideas of the masses, they frequently come in contact with in psychological moments, have never been seriously considered from the point of view of administration. Assuredly such an agency is much more capable of doing enormous good to the state not only by imparting correct notions of peaceful citizenship and genuine loyalty but also by rounding off mental obliquities and dispelling moral aberrations than all the pulpit exhortations, schoolroom discipline, and state resolutions put together. It is therefore not a little surprising that such an array of sensible corollaries derived from mere commonplace facts concerning the medical profession should have so long eluded the intelligent grasp of the broad and sympathetic statesmanship to which the Indian Government is establishing its ever-increasing claim. But instead, the whole medical department has evidently been condemned as one of "no revenue" and made a victim of a policy of stringent economy, and thus its efficiency has been sacrificed to such an extent that as it now stands, seething with grave discontent throughout its ranks, it is hardly capable of doing much good by way of even ordinary relief, far less being fitted for such important possibilities. Yet estimable persons in authority pretend to be surprised at the fact that the benefits of the western medical science, that has been in existence in this country about three quarters of a century, have not come to be appreciated by the masses as well as they should ; and with a seeming solicitude befitting their position of responsibility have now devised peripatetic dispensaries to wear down their so-called prejudices by reaching pills, tabloids, and aseptic surgery to their homes. But the analogy of the Egyptian flying columns for the cure of ophthalmia on which they have evidently been started is far from correct in as much as Ram Bux, though illiterate, happens to be a much more intelligent individual than the African aboriginies, or at any rate shrewd enough to know what is good for him. It would not be amiss to mention that a European medical officer practising in Southern India expressed himself not long ago to the effect that the unpopularity of the western medical science wherever it existed, did not really mean the presumed indolence and apathy of the populace or their inherent prejudices against it, but amounted to an admission of incapacity and inefficiency of the medical agency employed to disseminate its benefits ; or else it would never have been possible for him to draw poor patients from distant Singapore and Penang who sometimes parted with their last possession to pay a passage to his clinique. Again on the face of such a commonplace fact that the masses readily resort to distant law courts to seek redress it is idle to hypothecate that long distances can stand in the way of their availing themselves of medical relief, if really efficacious. The philosophic statesmanship of Lord Morley

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conceived that the evil lay in the I. M. S. alone, and that it could be easily remedied by lopping it off to some extent and fostering an independant medical profession. But in the light of the difficult experiences of his lordship's able colleague—the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the independant medical profession in connection with the National Insurance Act it is hoped that his Lordship may have considerably modified his strong view about the latter, and has come to be convinced of the greater importance and necessity of a constituted medical service from an administrative stand point. The canker of unpopularity cannot surely be attributed to any such extraneous and far-fetched causes, but, as has already been said, underlies the service agency itself ; and the only chance of removing it effectually therefore lies in executing well considered reforms regarding the pay, prospects and status throughout its ranks, beginning specially at the bottom. There is also a loud cry all round that the Indian bar is getting swamped with a large number of lawyers every year, and that failures amongst them are swelling the band of discontented politicians. The reason of this ever increasing congestion is obvious. The brilliant career of a fair number of them stimulates the aspiration of every intelligent young Indian, while on the contrary the miserable career of the medical men in general deters them from entering the so-called noble profession. And a greater proof of the unpopularity of the Indian medical profession as a career will not be needed than the fact that not even five per cent of the Indian medical men, and fewer still of the I.M.S officers, ever hink of advising their own children to enter it. The urgent need of reforms in the medical services thus derives an added weight and importance from the fact that it has now become a question of necessity to remove congestion in the other professional ranks, and to correspondingly decrease the number of malcontents.

Before however formulating a scheme of reforms it is necessary to investigate the real causes that directly determine so urgent that the services were capable of making a large addition to their income by private practices has lost all its force with the increasing growth of the independant profession and the more stringent conditions imposed upon them, on the other, the salaries fixed more than half a century ago are obviously inadequate to meet the increased cost of living. These are therefore the two correlated cardinal factors underlying the entire question which cannot surely be solved either by changing the designation of the poorly paid subordinates, or holding up before them the more remote benefits of a local registration act, devising a meagre time scale of pay like that of the government ministerial staff for the Indian medical graduates; or even by conferring the privileges of a first class district officer on the Indian Civil Surgeons with prospects of a magnificent salary of Rs. 350 per month !

Now the next of the causes involves the equally important question of the present inefficient condition of the Service which is at once referrable to a faulty and out-of-date organisation necessitating not only a separation of the civil from the military but also that of the medical from the sanitary services.

In the sequence of importance the health of the Indian army surely heads the list. It should have a separate Military Medical Service of its own to be named the Indian Army Medical Corps I. A. M. C. corresponding to the R. A. M. C. for the British army, under control of the P. M. O to His Majesty's Indian Army open to all natural born subject of His Majesty and recruited by competition in England. It should also have a reserve of not more than 15% of the total strength of its cadre to be accommodated in all the provincial jail departments

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as Superintendents of central prisons, for these are the only civil institutions to which a competent knowledge of military discipline and hygiene can have its most useful application. These jail appointments for the reserve I. A. M. C. should ordinarily be filled by officers comparatively junior in rank with the exception of those of the Inspectors-General of Prisons to be held by senior officers of the same service. The scale of pay should be the same as that of the present military section of the I.M.S.; but when transferred to the civil as reserve should have, besides free quarters, an additional allowance ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 as compensation for the staff and other military allowances. Besides introducing the proposed Station Hospital System with a view to afford a wider and better scope for professional work a Central Military Medical School attached to a large station hospital should also be opened and manned entirely by the I.A.M.C. officers who will thus not only be enabled to keep abreast of the latest advances in the medical science for purposes of teaching, but also have the advantage of training their own men, specially in military discipline in which, as at present turned out of the several civil medical schools, they are found to be largely wanting.

Next a provision has also to be made for a reserve of the subordinates attached to the British Army hospitals in India (Military Assistant Surgeon—I.S. M.D.) and it can similarly be accommodated in the jail department as subordinates in medical charge of the big central prison hospitals instead of 2 or 3 unwilling civil sub-assistant surgeons, as at present employed. They should also be junior in the warrant rank, and be given an additional allowance of Rs. 75 to Rs. 150 compensation against the military hospital sub-charge allowance. The present arrangement of dignifying perforce these subordinates of the British Army hospital, who do not possess a registerable qualification, into Civil Surgeons besides being absurdly retrograde constitutes a serious grievance to the Indian Medical graduates who are made to serve under them, in spite of their possessing superior qualifications registerable under the British Medical Act. The General Medical Council of Great Britain having so recently as 8th June, 1912 declared their final refusal to recognise the qualifications of these Military Assistant Surgeons, there appears no object in getting them registered under a local Medical act, like the Sub-Assistant Surgeons, with a view to perpetuating the wrong. The British Medical Act has surely a value of its own, and it is indeed a little extraordinary that when there is a loud cry for a hall-mark of British standard all round it should not be insisted upon in the case of such an important and responsible office as that of a district medical officer. Again the military sections of the Indian University Medical Colleges besides causing a great overcrowding at once detrimental to efficient teaching are admittedly a serious handicap for pursuing a more advanced course of scientific studies required by the civil medical students preparing for the university degrees. They can with great advantage be amalgamated for the purpose of opening a central military medical college attached to large British station hospital, and manned by the R. A. M. C. Officers, who will surely welcome such a facility for training their own men, and greatly appreciate the excellent opportunity for specialisation thus afforded.

The Indian Medical Service—I. M. S. should constitute a covenanted medical service, entirely civil, and analogous to the I. C. S., open to all natural born subject of His Majesty, and recruited for only two-thirds of the number of vacancies by a competitive examination held annually in England, followed by a year of satisfactory probation of the approved candidates, as assistant, in one of the London hospitals. The appointments open to the service will be two-thirds of all the Civil

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Surgeoncies ; the Principalships and two-thirds of the professorships of the University Medical Colleges, administrative charges of the provincial and presidency medical establishments and the directorship of the whole service under the Imperial Government. The scale of pay should be from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,200 by a triennial increment of Rs. 100.

	R.	a.	p.
As Principal Medical College should have an additional allowance of	400	0	0
As Professor or a Specialist	300	0	0
As Inspector-General of the provincial Medical establishments a consolidated pay of	2,000	0	0
As Deputy Director General of the Presidency Medical establishment	2,500	0	0
As Director General under the Imperial Government ...	3,000	0	0

The proposed scale of pay thus briefly outlined involves no drastic changes in the emoluments at present received by the I. M. S. officers in civil employ. The only departure contemplated is a divorce of the military title ; and excepting purely sentimental reasons, it cannot surely mean a serious calamity, either from a social or a professional point of view, seeing that neither the social status of the Indian Civil Servants, nor the enviable professional reputation of the "Misters" and "Doctors" of Harley Street and Cavendish Square has so far suffered for want of a military rank.

An uncovenanted Medical Service should comprise a certain number of listed appointments to be filled by judicious selection from amongst the Civil Assistant Surgeons of approved merits on completion of 15 years of service in the Provincial cadre. It is however important to note that in the absence of a direct recruitment to its ranks, it bears no analogy either with the now extinct service of the same name, or with the Statutory Civil Service that has been generally condemned. Such listed appointments should include one-third of all the civil Surgeoncies, as also a third of the professorship of the University Medical Colleges ; and the Superintendentships of all the Civil Medical Schools to be converted into whole time appointments in the interest of medical education The scale of pay should range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 700 by an annual increment of Rs. 50 beginning with the 16th year of service. As professor of a medical college or superintendent of school an additional allowance of Rs. 300 should be given. The qualifying period for pension should be reduced to 25 years.

The Civil Assistant Surgeons having the same gazetted rank as the subordinate judges, munsiffs, and deputy collectors of the provincial Civil Service should also have their service designated correspondingly the Provincial Medical Service. It should, as at present, be recruited from amongst the Indian Medical graduates according to the number of vacancies. The appointments open to them should also remain the same as at present, *viz.*, the medical charges of the district and important sub-divisional hospitals as well as the lecturership of the medical schools demonstratorships of the medical colleges. The scale of pay must however be substantially improved, and should in all fairness range from Rs. 150 to Rs. 400 by a four-yearly increment of Rs. 50 without any professional test. The qualifying period of service for pension should also be reduced to 25 years, seeing that by far the majority of the incumbents have to enter it rather late in life necessitated by a longer and

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more arduous course of professional studies after attaining to a high standard in preliminary education and that they have to work without any holidays throughout their career. Seeing again that they are trusted with amputation knives a foot long and the most deadly poisons that would kill half the district population in a few minutes it is not very evident why the Government should withhold from them the privilege of exemption from the Arms Act accorded to the gazetted Officers of all other departments. The distinction thus being an invidious one, at once affecting their status as trusted servant of the crown, should certainly be removed.

The Subordinate Medical Service should comprise the Sub-Assistant Surgeons in charge of the mufassil branch dispensaries. They are certainly the most deserving class of medical men with whom really rests the most important function of extending the benefits of the western medical science to the masses. Their present pay and prospects being ridiculously low-scaled and hopelessly poor, the service fails to attract the right stamp of men and consequently a large majority of them being always at pains to make a living, are inclined, through sheer necessity, to play the role of amateur "Vaids" and "Hakims" even to the extent of condemning the western medical science, and thus lowering its efficacy in popular estimation. Their scale of pay therefore is in urgent need of revision. To meet their legitimate aspiration and to attract a better class of men it should range from Rs. 40 to Rs. 150. The promotion should at first be regulated by a quinquinial increment of Rs. 20 up to a limit of Rs. 100 based on the results of periodic professional tests of a more practical nature than they are required to undergo at present; and beyond 20 years of service, by an annual increment of Rs. 10 determined by careful selection, to Rs. 150 such further advancement being however limited to only a fourth of the total strength of the service. The qualifying period for pension 30 years needs however to change in their case seeing that they can easily attain to the required standard of preliminary and professional education comparatively early in life.

If it be true that "prevention is better than cure" then surely the Sanitation Department deserves a higher place in the Royal Commissioner's list than the lowest to which it has been relegated for purposes of an enquiry. As compared with the immense benefits that India has derived from a gradual introduction of all kinds of British institutions that of local self-government has proved a dismal failure. Were it not for this unfortunate fact the country could not have been found so hopelessly unprepared against the appalling ravages of the plague. While it amounts to an extravagant expectation that the imperial or the provincial government should extend its substantial support for combating every spell of epidemic diseases, ill advised attempts at charging it with negligence or fastening a blame for high mortality are not infrequently made in the event of its failing to open the treasury doors sufficiently wide to redeem the senseless bankruptcy of the municipal bodies. The local self-government Act is therefore in need of an urgent revision seeing that by far the large majority of the municipal bodies have not only proved failures in respect of profitably husbanding their resources to the benefit of the people, but also that they have shown an amount of indifference to the subject of sanitation and public health that can easily be referred to a deplorable want of a correct appreciation of this most important item of civic responsibilities. The act should be so modified as to make it incumbent on these local bodies a compulsory entertainment of qualified health officers and trained sanitary inspectors and at the same time extending to them the privileges and status of

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executive officials whose expert advices in matters concerning sanitation and prevention of diseases should be considered as final, and subject only to a revision by the administrative head of the sanitary departments, and not to that of the lay members constituting the boards. While again it is idle to expect that district medical officers who are already overwhelmed with heavy professional and multifarious other duties could satisfactorily discharge the important functions of sanitary advisors, it is equally unavailing to promise that the present uninviting prospects of temporary health appointments under lay control, and an utter absence of any towards earning a pension, could afford sufficient inducement to men of the right stamp in making a choice for them as a career. The need for a regular sanitary service must therefore be obvious, and it should be constituted as a separate entity in itself on the lines proposed for the medical service, the cost of which, excepting the pay of the administrative heads, should be borne by the local bodies. Besides, its control should lie directly with the government, and not, as at present obtains, through a meaningless mediation of the medical department. The departmental heads should at the same time be given seats in the provincial councils so that they may thus be enabled to participate in their important legislative deliberations.

An Indian Sanitary Service—I. M. S. should be a convenanted service open to all natural born subjects of His Majesty possessing a British Diploma in Health, recruited annually by competition in England according to the number of vacancies and followed by a period of six months' satisfactory probation of the approved candidates under the health department of London County Council. The appointments open to them will be two-thirds of all the Municipal health officerships, as also of the Deputy Sanitary Commissionerships, the Sanitary Commissionerships of the provincial sanitary establishments, the Deputy Director-Generalship of Sanitation of the presidency establishments, and Director-Generalship of Sanitation under the Imperial government. The scale of pay should range from Rs. 600 to Rs. 1,300 by a triennial increment of Rs. 100 :—

	Rs.
As a Deputy Sanitary Commissioner	1,500
As a Sanitary Commissioner	1,800
As Deputy Director-General of Sanitation	2,000
As Director-General of Sanitation	2,500

An uncovenanted Sanitary Service should comprise a certain number of listed appointments including one-third of the Municipal health officerships as also a third of the Deputy Sanitary Commissionerships which should be filled by a selection from amongst the Assistant Health officers of approved merits after completion of 10 years service in the provincial cadre. The scale of pay should range from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 by annual increment of Rs. 50 beginning with the 11th year of service; and as Deputy Sanitary Commissioner Rs. 1,200 the period qualifying for pension being 25 years.

A provincial sanitary service should include the Assistant Health officers. It should be recruited from amongst the Indian medical graduates possessing a Diploma of Health of one of the Indian Universities. They are to be attached to the less important municipalities under control of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners of respective circles. Their scale of pay should range from Rs. 250 to Rs. 500 by a four yearly increment of Rs. 50 the period qualifying for pension being 25 years.

A Subordinate Sanitary Service should include the appointments of the trained Sanitary Inspectors. Their course of training should extend over two years after passing the Matriculation test of an Indian University. They are to be employed in all Act XX towns and important urban areas under control of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioners besides being Assistants to Health officers of the bigger municipalities. Their scale of pay should range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200. The promotion should at first be regulated by a quinquinial increment of Rs. 25 based on the results of periodic tests in practical hygiene up to Rs. 125 but further advancement by an annual increment of Rs. 15 to Rs. 200 should be determined by selection and limited to one-fourth of the total strength of the service; the qualifying period for pension being 30 years.

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THE WOMEN OF BURMA.

By Mg. THAN MAUNG.

COMPARED to the average women of India, the women of Burma may be said to be as free as air and as happy as any woman can be. It has often been said by writers on Burma that Buddhism, and Buddhism alone, has formed the character of the Burmese woman and has made her life happy, busy and intellectual, and I think that there is much force in the remark. It may safely be said that the women of Burma occupy a position in life which their Indian sisters might well envy. I do not propose to tender any advice to my Indian readers as to how to work out a similar emancipation for many of their women, like the Japanese gentleman who exhorted Indians to abolish the caste-system if they want to be as great a people as the Japanese. This article being more of a descriptive nature than of a reflective or controversial one, I think I had better leave the sort of advice, given by the above mentioned gentleman, to philosophers of his school.

As Sir George Scott observes in his book on Burma, "there is no difference between man and man but that which established by superiority of virtue; and hence it is of the state of women amongst Buddhists, is so very much higher than it is amongst Oriental peoples who do not hold that faith. The Burmese women enjoy many rights which her European sister is even now clamouring for," while men of light and leading in many other countries, both in the East and in the West, are even now preaching for the raising of the status of their women and the law of work for them, the people of Burma already have, among their women, those, managing large business concerns. Burmese women there are who are engaged in extensive rice and timber trades, managing most up-to-date printing presses, doing an extensive mining businesses, developing the oil industry and, in Rangoon in particular, we have Burmese women running a daily newspaper. Indeed, these are indications showing, as they do, that the Burmese woman's freedom equals that of the Burmese male; nor is this freedom of the woman a modern growth. Researches made by advanced Orientalists, such as those of the Burma Research Society bring to light the fact that the freedom of the Burmese woman is of a very ancient type or as Sir Harvey Adamson, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, puts it, that suffragettes had been in existence in Burma long before they made their appearance in the west.

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Another indication of this freedom is the fact that the Burmese woman is often the bread-winner of the family, sometimes a large one, including her husband—a fact which, to some extent, justifies the common saying of not a few English and Indian writers on Burma that this is "a land where men loll and women work."

As regards the Burmese wife, her relation to her husband might fairly well be gauged from the following facts. On the strength of the Burmese Dhammathats (which, by the way are said to have a Hindu origin) a high judicial authority has held that in case of divorce by mutual consent the husband and wife equally divide between themselves their joint property, both moveable and immoveable. It has also been held by a legal authority (and that on the strength of the customary law of the Burmese) that a second marriage without the first wife's consent constitutes a ground for the wife to claim divorce from the husband.

As regards the practice of polygamy among the Burmese people, I may say that I am at one with the learned writer who says, "On grounds of authority, the opinions of the learned judges and the teachings of morality, it may be said that among Burman Buddhists, a man cannot take a lesser wife without the first wife's consent and against her will and that if he does he commits a grave matrimonial offence as would entitle her to a divorce."

As to the inheritance of the wife from the husband or *vice versa*, the legal maxim that "husband and wife are heirs to each other" holds good among the Burmese people, on the death of either husband or wife, the survivor inherits his or her separate property and the joint property of the marriage, the eldest child alone, if any, having a right to claim a quarter share from the survivor. The union of the Burmese husband and wife, being treated as a partnership, the husband cannot alienate joint property without the wife's consent—another illustration of the free-as-air Burmese woman's relation to the Burmese male. It has been judicially recognized that under the Burmese Buddhist Law, a wife can alienate her separate property without her husband's consent—here again another illustration of the freedom of the Burmese woman.

While writing on the subject of the women of Burma, I may also describe the custom among the Burmese of marriage and giving in marriage. Every writer on Burma has commented on the extreme freedom of marriage among the people of this country. The Burmese girl shows a perfectly catholic taste in the matter of

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her choice of a male. She is as ready to marry a Hindu or any of the other Indian races who come to Burma as she is to marry an Englishman, if it suits her turn. One result of this is the great number of hybrid and indeterminate tribes which have developed forms of speech of their own dialects that have dignified with the names of languages. (O! how I wish the caste-system which Indian patriots write so much against, were prevalent in Burma to prevent my country-women from marrying foreigners, weakening my race from year to year!) As in India and other Oriental countries, marriage arrangements are becoming as purely a commercial matter as possible. The present-day maiden, or at least her guardians, are more concerned with whether the bride-groom is a passed F. A., or a failed B. A., than whether they love each other.

Though marriage is very free in Burma it seems at first sight singular to find that there are far more married persons in India than in Burma. Among the women of the two countries, the difference is very noticeable. In Burma there are only 344 per thousand against 519 in India. But this is, some think, because of the marriage of the Indian girl being an absolute necessity if the parents are not to be disgraced and the ancestors left to wander in shameful fashion about the waste places of the earth. Again in India ten per cent. of the girls between the ages of five and ten are already married. In Burma only one male and seven females per thousand of each sex are married, whereas in India the proportion is a hundred and four males and four hundred and twenty-three females. To a large extent, I think, the difference is due to the Indian practice of child marriage and infant-marriage which strictly speaking do not exist in Burma proper. The proportion of widows in the two countries is 180 per thousand in India and 105 per thousand in Burma where there are absolutely no restrictions preventing widows from re-marrying. In India widows are to be found one in the thousand among infants under five and the number of widows under fifteen is twenty-four in the thousand, whereas in Burma, there are none at all. In England there are 357 married women in the thousand whereas in Burma there are 389 in the thousand.

In countries like India and Turkey, the reverence for the past has been so great that it is difficult to raise the status of women within a short space of time. With reference to the women of Turkey, a Turkish officer once said, "We want a companion and

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not a slavish creature, terrified of divorce and the fear of starvation if she has not a man to support her. How dull our evenings are! All my brother officers tell me the same: the monotony, the lassitude, which we endure with these ignorant women who do not even know how to attract our senses. We never talk of serious things with our wives for they only reply, 'yes; you are quite right.'" I think the position of the average Indian woman is not much above that of her Turkish sister, compared to them, the women of Burma is indeed one of the freest of the free women on earth, or as a writer on Burma has said, she is the most independent of the world's women.

While the freedom of the Burmese woman is enviable to a large extent, it also brings, peculiar drawbacks in its train. The number of mixed marriages between the Burmese women and foreigners has been increasing by leaps and bounds and in the interests of the Burmese race the contraction of such marriages is most undesirable. The last census shows that the number of pure Burmans is decreasing which is, in the main, attributable to the contraction of marriages between aliens and the women of Burma, which again is attributable to the great attractiveness and freedom of the Burmese women. The attractiveness of these women may be gauged from the fact that warnings have to be issued at the Burma Secretariat to every officer arriving in the Province, regarding the attraction and allurement of the women of the country. As a brown Mongolian, the Burmese woman is not beautiful, as some Indian women are, but every visitor to Burma rightly admits that she is highly attractive and alluring.

As regards literacy among the women of Burma, it may be said that its standard is fairly high. There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are illiterate. At an early age the girls go to their school and learn to read and write, the scriptures in Burmese, or sometimes in Burmanized Pali, forming the basis of their studies. From such a source it is that there come the teachings of generosity, cheerfulness and kindliness which are admittedly the most eminent traits in the character of the Burmese woman. At school or sometimes at a nunnery they learn the five duties of a wife, namely, to properly manage her household, to be a hospitable housewife, to be a faithful wife, a thrifty house-keeper and a diligent gentlewoman. Together with such instruction in ethics, they receive a practical training in the ways of homelife. From an early age, too, the Burmese girl helps her parents in their business whether it is selling in the bazaar, cultivating the paddy or keeping a shop. Most of all they learn at school or nunnery, the lesson of being generous and charitable in which as a writer puts it, the Burmese women far surpass those of any other nation. There it is also that they learn how to make offerings of flowers and lights at the shrines on sacred days, to give food to the priests, cooked for them before the dawn, as the latter go their daily rounds through the village, and to share the little pleasures that are so much to children with their playmates and the poor.

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THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE QUESTION.

By Mr. H. A. ANSARI, B. A., Assistant Secretary, All-India Muslim League.

THE appointment of the Public Service Commission has been hailed with delight by all sections of public opinion in India with the exception of the European official and mercantile communities whose opposition needs little explanation or comment, as the slightest concession to Indian demands, however just they may be, means a corresponding contraction of the European's avenues of employment. The Anglo-Indian Press received the news of the Commission's appointment with indifference, and its subsequent proceedings have met with their unqualified condemnation, as raking up the hurried controversies of decades past. The reason is that they are afraid that the members of the present Commission mean business, and that they may be impressed by the unanimous demand by the majority of the Indian witnesses including Mussalmans, they have examined, for simultaneous examinations, and that it may possibly report to His Majesty's Government in its favour. It is a welcome sign of the times that with the exception of the Burmese witnesses, who have naturally no sympathy with Indian aspirations and who have borne no share in our struggles for the recognition of our inalienable rights as British citizens, all Indian gentlemen hitherto examined by the Commissioners have unhesitatingly declared themselves in favour of larger and more extensive employment of Indians in all branches of the Civil Service. It is our purpose to examine how this unanimity of views has been produced in the short space of a quarter of a century, *i.e.*, between 1887 and 1913, and how the Public Service question has assumed such a prominent aspect in Indian politics.

Our enquiries would lead us far back into the Moghal times, when no distinction of race, creed or colour was made in the distribution of State patronage and ability was the sole test of employment under the Government. The Europeans were strict Mussalmans and Islam was the state religion, but those of their subjects who professed other creeds had free access to the highest offices in the State. They controlled important departments of the Central Government, commanded large armies, and ruled as Governors even in such provinces as Bengal and Afghanistan. The much maligned Aurangzeb himself employed Rajput Generals in the subjugation of the Mussalman Kingdoms of the Deccan and upheld the liberal traditions of his forefathers, though we are assured to the contrary by the European critics. I can not refrain here from referring to an episode which shows how unbiassed he was in this matter. Two Parsis were appointed to certain posts under his Government, and some envious persons objected to the employment of fireworshippers under an orthodox Moslem King.

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The great Emperor gently rebuked them by saying that so long as a man did his duty loyally he did not care what his particular religious beliefs were, as they were no concern of the State.

On the disruption of the Moghal Empire, these traditions of toleration and mutual goodwill were carried on by the several Hindu and Moslem states which rose out of its ashes. The Moslem states of the Deccan had from the earliest times employed Hindus in all capacities, high and low, and the existing dynasty of Hydrabad has maintained the same liberal attitude towards them, so that Hindus alternate with Mussalmans in holding the highest appointments in the State. The impartiality of its rulers is greatly responsible for the happy and amicable relations existing between the different communities in Hyderabad. Hindu rulers have similarly reposed their entire confidence in Mussalman ministers, and it is no insignificant fact that a number of Hindu states in Northern India have Mussalman Prime Ministers. Even the Sikhs employed Mussalmans in responsible positions during their rule in the Punjab and Sivaji's artillery was commanded by a Mussalman.

Nurtured on these liberal traditions it is natural that Indians chafe under the artificial restrictions that have been put on their advancement to the highest offices under the British Government in spite of Imperial and statutory assurances that race, creed and colour would be no bar to employment under the Government of India, but that fitness alone would be the deciding test. In the earlier stages of the British occupation of the country, when their Empire had not yet consolidated, the exclusion of Indians from high offices under the State was justifiable, as they had, had no opportunty to assimilate the spirit of British rule, and were ignorant of the language, literature and tradition of their rulers. But after a century of contact between the two races these conditions have been naturally altered, and thanks to a liberal system of education manginated by far-seeing British Statesmen, Indians have imbibed western culture to an appreciable extent, and are daily more and more conforming to the European standard of conduct and judgment.

It is true that the majority of subordinate posts in the civil administration of the country are held by Indians, but their contention is that they are excluded from exercising their higher mental faculties by being entrusted with more responsible work. For after all what have officers of the subordinate service to do but obeying the behests of their superiors and carrying them into execution. They have no powers of initiation or control, and are thus reduced to mere automatics in the hands of their European superiors. Such a state of affairs cannot but have a deteriorative influence on national character, as Government service attracts the strongest and most virile minds in India. In the defence of the existing system, it is often urged by its advocates with great show of plausibility that Indians as a race are lacking in those qualities of self-control, resourcefulness and promptness which go to make a successful executive officer, and that as a consequence an

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influx of Indians into the Indian Civil Service, will lower the tone of the administration, and the peace and prosperity of India may be jeopardised. This has been the burden of the evidence of the European witnesses hitherto examined by the Commission. But how far is this intolerant attitude compatible with actual and indisputible facts?

It may possibly be true that one or two Indian officers may have been found wanting in tact and resourcefulness when confronted with a dangerous crisis, but is this not equally true of British officers, the only difference being that their backsprings do not come to light through the indulgence of the Anglo-Indian Press and their official superiors. The number of Indians in the Indian Civil Service is almost insignificant, and the presence of one or two black sheep among them may give a bad name to the whole lot of them. But in spite of the heavy odds against which they have to contend in the discharge of their official duties, many of them have distinguished themselves in the service. The case of the Provincial Service men promoted to the listed posts is altogether different. They are appointed to district charges when they are past their prime and the habit of servitude has become ingrained in their character. Hence it is not to be wandered that they prove inefficient in the discharge of their duties. But these premises can not go to prove conclusively the incapacity of Indians for being entrusted with responsible duties, and if we go beyond British territory we find Indians directing the destinies of large numbers of people without prejudice to their moral and material interests. In the Native States indigenous talent finds ample room for expanding its powers and proving to the sceptics that it is capable of being entrusted with the highest functions of Government. The records and achievements of Sir Salar Jung, Sir Madhava Row, Sir Sheshadri Iyer, Sir Dinkar Row and Mr. R. C. Dutt and a host of others prove that Indians are not only not lacking in the highest administrative ability, but that given the opportunity they can prove themselves statesmen of no mean calibre.

It is therefore not to be wondered that educated Indians who take an intelligent interest in the welfare of their country view with alarm the continuation of the unjustifiable policy of deliberately excluding the children of the soil from controlling and directing the administration of their own country, as it will ultimately reduce them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water, and result in a permanent stunting of the natural character, from which it would take centuries of self-improvement to recover. The agitation for the reform of the condition of entry into the various Indian Services, which is daily gathering in volume and intensity, is based on no mere sentimental grievances or the alleged selfishness of the educated classes, as is insidiously suggested in interested quarters, but on the irresistable conclusion to which the leaders of light in the various Indian communities and the public at large have arrived that any postponement of the solution of this all-important question would prove disastrous both to the interests of the people of India and the ruling power.

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The position of the members of the present commission is very delicate. On the one hand they are faced with the solid phalanx of Anglo-Indian opinion, official and non-official, which refuses to yield an inch of ground to Indian aspirations. On the other hand the various Indian communities present a united front in demanding the unequivocal recognition of their right to compete on equal terms with their European fellow-subjects for admission into the various Indian services, by the institute of simultaneous examinations and the doing away of all restrictions that exist on the employment of non-Europeans. They have begun to realise that the throwing open of the portals of the Indian Civil Service to their young men is not merely a question of bread and butter or of the draining away of the slender resources of their impoverished country by the employment of an expensive foreign agency, but that their very national existence as a free and independent people is threatened, and hence they will not desist from carrying on the agitation till this iniquitious monopoly is swept away. The Commissioners will also carefully note that in 1887 a large portion of the people of India including the important Mussalman minority were callous to the interests of their country, and were taken in by the hue and cry raised by the Anglo-Indian press that simultaneous examination would only mean the replacement of British officials by Bengalis. But now with their rapid advance in education the Mussalmans can see that they will equally and to the best of their ability share in any concession made to the people of India as a whole. There is thus no loop-hole to which the apologists for the continuation of the present methods can point in the position taken up by the Indian people, and the Government and the Commission should mark the situation carefully.

The recognition of Indian claims, which are based on solemn promises and declarations, would be a most graceful act on the part of the Home Government, and thus a painful and long-standing controversy, which has unduly restrained the harmony which should exist between Englishman and Indians, be closed for ever. But if on the contrary the labours of the present Commission leave the people of India in the same sad plight as did its predecessor, we are afraid their long-suffering endurance would be unduly taxed, and the more impatient among them would lose their faith in the vaunted beneficence of British rule. But we earnestly hope that these fears would be belied, and the spirit of compromise, which is the special characteristic of the British people, would ultimately assert itself, and this question would reach a solution satisfactory to the people of India, without affecting British supremacy in the country.

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BUILDING OF THE INDIAN NATION

By Mr. W. S. NAIDU.

IT has been constantly dinned into our ears that India like Italy of old is only "Geographical expression." Italy which was no nation, has been knit into one during living memory. Indian young men, who are in the prime of life now and will take a long time before they can realize the meaning of what is called "The battle of life," will find Indian nation and united India as accomplished facts ere they grow grey with age. In passing it may also be remarked that Germany only a congeries of states warring with one another has now grown into a nation. It should not be deemed an utopian vision, when we instil hope in the Indian mind regarding the formation of Indian nation and believe it possible for India to accomplish, what Germany and Italy have so signally achieved.

What are the requisites for the formation of a nation? According to Mrs. Besant the three chief requisites are :—

(1) A convenient and defensible area.
(2) Pride in a common past.
(3) Hope for a common future.

If these things are possible in India the building of the Indian nation can be realized.

(1) India is a peninsula and the sea girts it on three sides. And on the fourth huge mountains, which can be rendered impregnable guard it. No human mind can conceive the magnificence of structure, the grandness of scenery the Himalayas present; and no human hand can build such a stately structure as the Himalayas. India has been aptly called "a cradle of races" for she has been the centre to which various races have converged. And no united nation there was within to offer a bold front and resist their onslaught. India has always been conquerred by her own children uniting with the invaders. In the words of Mrs. Beasant she has always been conquered by the Indian sword.

(2) Next we pass on to the second requisite essential for the formation of a nation. We ask, can India with her warring races feel a pride in the common past? History tells us that the Maharatta was against the Rajaput—the Punjabi versus the Bengali, and the Bengali versus the Hindustani. In short internecine wars were in their full swing causing the various races to live in a bitter state of animosity. Under such conditions can India feel a pride in the common past? Yes we say. History speaks of people notably the Prussians and Nepolitians with divergent views and feuds, who have sunk all their differences and have become an organized whole.

"All nations in making are smelt in the furnace of war and hammered on the anvil of battle" says Mrs. Beasant. A very remarkable statement indeed! These are necessary to the making up of a nation. When the idea of nationality becomes dominant in the various races composed of a

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nation then the heroic deeds wrought on both sides, before they were knit into a nation will be venerated. Thus a pride in the glorious past will be generated.

We think it to be a source of advantage that nations should be composed of diverse elements. Tennyson that master mind, pays a glowing tribute to the splendid manner in which the English have grown into a nation, though they were composed of divergent races,—in the following line:—

"Saxon and Normans and Danes are we" It may be said the bitter memories of persecution, obloquy which the various races cherish, will be a stumbling block to a united nation in India. For the matter of that India has witnessed no more persecutions than Europe and the lines of persecution are not identical. All have settled down now in Europe amicably as peaceful citizen of the Empire. When national interests are at a stake and danger is impending, you will find, whether he be a Catholic, Anglican or Protestant, rising up as one man. Such is the glow of national fervour.

In order to instil a hope for a common future in all Indian hearts, patriotic literature venerating the greatness of the motherland—ignoring racial differences, should flood the country, Ideas of Nationality must be spread over the whole country before they can become actual facts. From the world of ideas we must descend into real facts. We now arrive at a stage when it behoves us to think of the means that ought to be adopted for the building up of the Indian Nation.

History teaches us that ideals must be preached before they can receive a practical shape. Italian writers wrote in glowing terms of the would be greatness of Italy, when she was in a backward state. The ideas they preached took effect and influenced the nation. The heart of the nation beat high and a responsive thrill was evoked in the nation. We find heroes like Mazini and Garibaldi arising and giving a practical shape to the ideas. So must it be with India also. Ideals of the motherland must be spread far and wide by writings and all must work for the good of the country and must not jeopardize larger and more important interests at stake.

In showing and dwelling upon a common past we must take the help of education. "History in its present form" says Mrs. Beasant "is dry as dust." And does not generate enthusiasm in the hearts of the readers. Indians must write Histories, of their own speaking in glowing terms of Indian heroes. Every Indian girl and boy should be made to look upon Akbar, Ahalayabai, Chand Bibi as examples worthy of admiration and imitation. They were the creators of India and every Indian heart must aglow with enthusiasm at the very mention of the names. History must be taught in this way and we shall be able to "breed patriots." It is not necessary that there should be separate colleges for each community for it tends to divide the Indians. Boys of different religions can be made to study together and in the hour prescribed for religious instruction they might form different groups. Boys of each faith should have boarding houses attached to Schools and Colleges.

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Religion and morality must go hand in hand. The one cannot be divorced from the other. "It should be taught that religion in its spiritual essence is one and indivisible, and that the various religions are merely the intellectual representations of one basic Truth" says Mrs. Beasant.

College students should be encouraged to take a warm interest in the studying, and debating of social, economic, national and municipal questions. Municipal politics afford a best field in a miniature form for the training of men to become citizens of the empire. Those who are not fit to deal in a smaller area, will find it no easy task to deal in larger and more important affairs of the empire. Eminent English statesmen like Chamberlain and Gladstone owed their success in Parliament to the training received in municipal politics. Students should be trained in the management of atheltic clubs and associations. In these the professor must help and should not control. There may be many false starts but the professor by his wise counsel should encourage and instil hope in the minds of the pupils. The present day system of education widens the gulf between the teacher and the pupil, for they meet only in the class room. It is a move in the right direction that the university commission should insist upon a residential system of boarding houses and a compulsory residence in them. The personality of a teacher is very essential in the formation of the character of his pupils. We want men—men with power of inspiration like Green, Jewect, Nettleship and Gopal Row. The teacher should hold lofty ideals before the admiring gaze of his puplis for imitation and admiration.

A common language has been a longfelt want in this country. For healthy intercourse and free inter-communication among the various races a common script is essential. It is obvious that the script ought to be Devanegri. In the words of Mrs. Beasant :—"The northern vernaculars can be read with fair facility by any one who knows of them well, if written in a common script, so alike are they." "In the south also Devanagiri can be accepted for the Majority of Hindus know Sanskrit It is really stretching a point too far to ask the Telugu, Tamil, Bengali and Maharatti speaking population to give up their literature so rich in store for it would be making the nation poorer. With a view to arrive at National unity we may impress on them the imperative need of learning Hindi as a second language. If this is not done, as sure as night follows day, English will become the common language of India.

Under the stress of modern civilisation the Indians are deteriorating in physique. But however it is gratifying to find that in some parts of India notably Bengal the significance of *mensen in corpore sana* has been brought home to them. As an outcome of it we find athelitic institutions are fast coming into prominence. The following extract from Mrs. Beasant is full of pregnant remarks and is worth noting in full :—

"Strength of body and of mind, noble character, wide and gracious piety, these are the things necessary for the good citizens, and without good citizens there is no nation possible. Such citizens, citizens of a united India, will be citizens also of the world wide empire, which cannot exist save as a federation of free nations. The world empire now shaping must have as its contents free and self-governing nations knit in bonds of love and based on justice and mutual respect.

Of these nations India will be one and for that great part she must fit herself by building herself into a nation.

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THE

Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt Hon'ble Augustine Birrell M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."*

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

EASTERN MINIATURE PAINTING—I. *

By Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc (LONDON.)

THIS splendid work in two volumes, with 276 plates and other figures in the text, is essentially a history of Persian painting. As we shall see it does not treat exhaustively of India ; while the painting of Turkey is of comparatively small importance. Our plan will be here to summarise the history of Persian painting, and to treat somewhat more fully those matters which have to do with India.

We have no documents for the history of Egyptian painting for the four hundred years previous to the beginning of the twelfth century, 700—1100. Almost the only work that can be called 'Fatimid,' is perhaps the fine portrait of 'Saladin,' probably painted about 1180, and the accompanying leaves of the same manuscript. Subsequent to this we have a good many manuscripts of the Baghdad school, altogether about 15 manuscripts containing some 400 miniatures. In some of these there are resemblances to the Ajanta paintings, (particularly the lower part of the upper picture reproduced on Dr. Martin's pl. XI

* The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey—By F. R. Martin, London, 1912, Quatitch £20.

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from the Paris manuscript of Al-hariri, known as Schefer's manuscript). But it is unlikely that there has been direct contact; "in my opinion," says Dr. Martin, "the Ajanta frescoes and Arabic painting have their origins in the same source, the inexhaustible riches of antique art", an opinion with which we should agree, if by "antique art", is meant the same as that which Okakura Kakuzo* speaks of as "Early Asiatic."* The known manuscript with miniatures, belonging to the Baghdad school, "give an extremely rich and varied image of life in the thirteenth century...,provide inexhaustible material for studying life and culture as then existing—life in town and in the country, in peace and in war, at a time not so very distant from that of the 'Arabian Nights' and the wonderful world depicted therein". The splendid draughtsmanship shows close analogies with that of the fine Raghes pottery, of which so many wonderful examples have lately found their way to Europe, and which has done so much to show the history of Persian art in its true perspective.

"In 1258 Baghdad was destroyed, and the Mongols," under Hulagu Khan, "brought a new art, the art of the Far East, into the sphere of the Near East". This is the beginning of Persian, as distinct from Arabic and antique art. For the five centuries preceding, Persia had been ravaged by internal wars, and moreover, mainly of the Sunnite persuasion, abhorring imagery; while the Baghdad art was mainly a western culture. The Mongols united all Persia under a more settled government, and bringing their own artists and works of art from China, patronised both the Chinese painters, thus introduced, and the school of imitators which soon sprang up in Persia. Characteristic of the new school are the nervous and calligraphic outlines, distinct from the broad and uniform line of the older art. But it is still distinguished and monumental, altogether superior in boldness of outline and brilliancy of colour to the latter, and now so fashionable, "super-refined scenes of Shah Abbas' time, in which the principal aim of the artist was to give elegant movement to the model and paint minutely a rich silk dress interwoven with gold". The most important manuscripts of the Mongol period are those of the Jamial-Tawarikh in Paris and London, of the late 13th and early 14th centuries respectively. The latter, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, includes illustrations, in the Persian Mongol style, of such Indian subjects as "Battle between two Heroes of the Mahabharata", "The Women who live in the Indian mountains", and the "Sacred tree of Buddha". Some of the drawings seem also to show traces of Indian influence, on which Dr. Martin remarks: the manuscript "is especially interesting because of a few nude figures which look quite Indian in pose and character. In some of the late Sassanid or very earliest Muhammadan vessels of bronze or silver, mostly found in Russia, there can clearly be discerned the same Indian style, and Indian traditions or models may very easily have been preserved in some remote part of Mesopotamia".

* Ideals of the East, 1904, Introduction.

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No further change took place in Persian art till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when fresh Chinese influence came in with Timur. "At the commencement of the fifteenth century, owing undoubtedly to Chinese influence, there arose a school of pen-and-ink drawing of extreme finish, in which as a rule, the drawings are simply heightened with a touch of gold or of colour. The two most remarkable drawings of this kind are the two warriors represented on Pl. 55. They are superb illustrations of events in the history of the great conqueror whose armies swept across Asia, and they take rank amongst the most powerful drawings yet found". The Timurids were great patrons of art.

"The most artistic princes that ever reigned in Persia. If the conquering armies of Timur destroyed many a work of art, his successors brought into being works of art that would otherwise never have been created. Does not Samarqand redeem the loss of many a town destroyed by Timur? What he destroyed was already of itself destined to fall and Timur simply gave the mortal thrust. These Timurids were no barbarians; indeed everything goes to shew that they were highly civilised and refined men, real scholars, loving art for the sake of art alone, and without ostentation. In the intervals between their battles they enjoyed thinking of their libraries and writing poetry, many of them having composed poetry that far excels that of their court poets...Baisuinghar, Shah Rukh, Ulugh Beg and Sultan Husain Mirza were bibliophiles, not surpassed by the Dukes of Burgundy, or by King Rene of Anjou, their contemporaries, and were far more illustrious than the celebrated French and Italian book-lovers of the 16th and 17th centuries. Not only did they collect books, but they created them. Baisunghar and Husain Mirza were to Persia what William Morris was to England four hundred years later. They created a new style of book, but theirs was infinitely more aristocratic, solid and artistic. The very finest European books and manuscripts cannot, except in a very few isolated instances, bear comparison with those of the Orientals as regards the fineness of the work".

The effect of the Timurid impulse lasted all through the 16th century, and is traceable even in India, where their descendants established so brilliant an Empire at Delhi. The Timurid work is not only full of vital draughtsmanship, but in mere fineness it excels almost everything that has ever been done. It seems as if the line must have been drawn under a magnifying glass; yet this cannot have been the case and it is interesting to note that Dr. Martin explains the capacity of those artists for drawing the most delicate curves and long lines without a tremor of the hand, by the "fact that these men of yore were orthodox Mussalmans innocent of the taste of alcohol and free from the taint which it invariably exercises on the eyesight and the nervous system generally."

The later Timurid art, that is of the early sixteenth century, is best known by the fame and work of Bihzad, of Herat, the court painter of Sultan Husain Mirza and his successors; he died in 1524. Babar speaks of him long after his death as the "most eminent of all painters", while later

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still our own Abul Fazl refers to him as one whose excellence was approached by the best painters of Akbar's school; and it is true that traces of his influence survive in some early works of the Akbar period. I cannot refrain from quoting Dr. Martin's admirable picture of Bihzad himself.

"Bihzad appears to have passed his long life in Herat and Tabriz. Many readers will exclaim: 'Herat that lies in barbarous Afghanistan, where none dare travel !' It must, however, be remembered that four centuries ago Herat was one of the most important centres of an advanced civilisation in Asia. It is only necessary to read the descriptions given by the Emperor Babar of the glorious gardens with their kiosks adorned with faience, concealed under huge trees, and of the water that flowed constantly by. It was a town as beautiful and poetical as Brusa in our own days. It may well be conceived that in such surroundings artistic talents could be developed when under the patronage of such a grand seigneur as Sultan Husain Mirza.

"The enormous plane trees which have been so splendidly painted by Bihzad were observed by him day after day. The peach trees blossomed year after year in abundance, backed by a sky that was ever the same blue. The cypresses straight and proud, stood guard beside the kiosks of faience, just swaying their highest tops in the breeze. The absolute tranquillity of the East reigned over gardens and parks. The indescribable peace of the mountains of Iran, with their cool invigorating evenings, affording such full compensation for the heat of the day, gave strength for new exertion and work. The sun of the East illumined the small chamber set apart by his ruler as the dwelling place of Bihzad, and there the artist sat bending over the low desk, which in its drawers held all that he needed for the production of the masterpieces that museums of Europe will, perhaps very soon, place beside, those of the best 15th century masters of Italy and the Netherlands. Assuredly Bihzad had no studio such as European painters possessed, but simply a room with white walls whose only ornaments were texts from the Koran, written by the chief calligraphers of the East. On the floor were yellow straw mats, while in one corner were a few cushions and a carpet on which guests and admirers were invited to sit down. Beyond the doorway, in which he often sat when the daylight in the chamber was insufficient, was a garden containing a great basin of placid water reaching up to the stone edge. Trees and bushes grew so densely that it was scarcely possible to pass between them. Roses bloomed while the peaches ripened and grapes hung in profuse clusters. Thousands upon thousands of roses grew on bushes and walls so closely that no green leaf, nothing but a mass of varied hues, was visible. In such surroundings sat Bihzad working day after day, handling a brush and a pen finer than any used before or after."

Nothing can exceed the beauty and splendour of the manuscripts illuminated by Bihzad (many are ascribed to him which should not be ; let collectors beware of later signatures and the work of pupils ascribed to Bihzad himself): but it is as a portrait painter that Bihzad shows his true greatness. Perhaps the finest of his portraits is that of Prince Murad Akkuyinnli, formely described as Timur of which there are many copies, those in the Bodleian and in Mr. Koechlin's collection being probably originals. Perhaps equally grand is the "Dervish from Baghdad."

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"How does the work of Bihzad and Mirak stand in comparison with the great contemporary miniaturists in Europe?" asks Dr. Martin. "It is difficult to say who is greater, Bihzad or Memling, Mirak or Jean Fouquet. They all stand on the same level—perfection. The Eastern artists are superior in the fineness of the lines, in the decorative sense, in the richness of the colours; the Europeans have more feeling in their faces, more religious sentiment, are more developed in their landscape. Perhaps the Eastern better understood what a miniature required, as their pictures belong more to the books they illustrate."

After Bihzad, Mirak is the greatest of Persian painters whose name and work are familiar to us. He was a pupil of Bihzad. "Although his figures are more lacking in movement and stiffer than those of Bihzad, they have an indescribable charm which no other Persian artist possesses: they advance as if in a solemn procession, they always appear to be enjoying themselves, but at the same time to be constantly standing on their dignity anxious that the folds of their dress should fall correctly...Mirak may be considered as the founder or reformer of the Bukhara school, which was also influenced by Bihzad."

We quote the following criticism, without expressing unreserved agreement especially in respect of the comparison with Botticelli, and with Chinese works, for these are far more profound than any but the very best of the Persians:

"The more one studies these Persian artists, their drawing and their colouring, the more does one admire them, although unfortunately one's admiration for European art suffers, inasmuch as the Persians in many respects are superior to their European contemporaries. The Western drawing seems crude and the colouring feeble and inharmonious in comparison with the Eastern. Naturally it is the primitive masters that suffer most by comparison: Titian, Rembrandt, Rubens and Velasquez offer no points of comparison, but masters like Pisanello, Bellini, Botticelli, and even Holbein and Durer no longer hold that pre-eminence in respect of their drawing or their colour effects which critics have hitherto accorded them. I really consider that one of England's greatest critics of Italian art was right when he said: 'I know nothing more exquisite than a fine Persian miniature." Assuredly a close study of Persian art at its best—may our artists be spared a knowledge of the mediocre products—will have a great and lasting influence on modern art in Europe, which is already proceeding on the lines of art in two dimensions, and from this aspect the Persian miniatures are beyond compare. They are far superior to the Chinese paintings, at least, to most of those which have been shewn in Europe, for the Chinese works are comparatively weak in respect of colour and decorative feeling which the Persian Artists understood so much better than any others."

Other famous painters of the sixteenth century were Sultan Muhammad, who was a pupil of both Bihzad and Mirak and also came under direct Chinese influences, and Mir Ali. By this time Persian art was beginning to lose its force, and in the reign of Shah Abbas, and in the work of his court painter Riza, it aimed at little more than prettiness. With the following criticism of the famous Riza, all may agree, though it exhibits to an unfortunate extent the egotism of Dr. Martin's style:

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"Riza was a calligraphic artist, *i. e.*, lines were his forte, and his feats appear to me almost acrobatic. His combination of colours is not to my taste, since he is fond of putting a reddish violet in conjunction with blue, a combination that reminds me of withered orchids. In his miniatures a certain affectation and intricacy in the position of the figures is often noticeable, without any decorative effect or line being the result. His figures seldom possess any great distinction and all have the same indolent wearied facial expression. Apparently their's was a pleasure-loving court. It is impossible to tell whether these sugary faces belong to men or women.....In spite of all Riza's skill one soon tires of this playing with lines, and having seen ten of his sketches, one has seen them all."

So far then from Persian painting 'dying away in India' as Mr. Binyon once remarked, it is the Indians, as Dr. Martin himself says, creating a new style of painting under the Mughals, who excelled the Persians in the seventeenth century; but only a few of the Indian Mughal works approach the *earlier* Persian, in grandeur, brilliance and simplicity. We need not follow the decadence of Persian art in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

So far we have followed Dr. Martin closely, in a resume of the history of Persian painting. Our attitude with regard to the Indian chapter has to be more critical.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Dr. MERCIER'S NEW LOGIC—I *.

By Mr. A. WORSLEY.

THIS is a work in good literary form, clearly expressed, tersely put, and full of critical ability. If it is necessary to demolish the pretensions of some logicians that traditional logic governs every argumentative process, then the author has also produced a useful book. Yet it is open to doubt if any such necessity exists; whether such claims were not refuted long since, and whether Logicians are not now content to claim for their art that it is but a special form of reasoning applicable to formal propositions.

Dr. Mercier has very skilfully attacked the technical terms, the formalities, and nearly all the details of Traditional and Scholastic Logic. Here and there he seems to have missed his footing, but in general these smaller combats end in his favor. But it cannot be said that his general attack is well conceived, for he omits to push the assault against three of the weakest points. For there are at least four grounds for claiming that European system of logic are not only so circumscribed as to be of little practical utility, but are only relatively true. An attack on any one of these lines must quickly end in the complete overthrow of those pretensions which he seemingly prefers to wear down by a series of small conflicts. Yet it is true that he has pushed his attack so far along the lines of Sections III. and IV.

* *A New Logic* by C. Mercier, M. D., (Heinemann, 1912).

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Let us cite these four general objections, bearing clearly in mind that the first three are not logical objections to Logic, but are philosophical objections destructive of any pretensions that Logic is universally true. The fourth is a logical objection to certain claims made in the name of Logic.

I. It depends on Name and Form, and involves the fallacy that Names and Forms represent realities. But if the latter are but aspectually true or real, and the former are concepts founded upon them, then logic remains relative and not absolute.

II. It descends from our apperceptions; that is, it is limited *ab initio* by the forms of our thought and cannot transcend them. Hence it is relative to these forms and is inapplicable to discussions on absolute being (Truth).

III. It is but one special form of reasoning, and does not cover the whole field open to rational argument. Just as our system of numbers cannot exactly express every relationship or ratio which might be expressible under some more perfect system, so those logically unproveable propositions are not necessarily cryptic, but are merely the surds of conventional logic.

IV. It deals, in great part, with deductive arguments. These alleged deductions are often mere re-statements of an original proposition, and hence do not carry us beyond where we started. In other cases they lead to approximations and not to absolute conclusions.

It is also doubtful if the claims of Logic to give results that are materially (or hypothetically) true can be sustained, unless it is admitted that many such results are approximations to the truth rather than absolute verities.

For discrete propositions cannot be crystallised into concrete instances without some, however minute, error in reproduction. The concept can never be faultlessly reproduced in the Thing *; the former is, at best, but the greatest common measure of a class, and can never be exactly mirrored in any individual. For instance a figure in the *Botanical Magazine* should be the representation of some individual plant; it can never be truly representative of a species. An attempt to give specific representation in a single picture must result in one of two figures; either (1) the figure of an imaginary plant representing the *mean* both in dimension, color and habit, between all known individuals of this species; or it must be an *extreme* figure with shadowy lines and colors giving the maximum and minimum sizes, the various poses and colors of all these individuals combined (in one picture).

* This particular house must differ in some respect from our previous conception of what the term "house" implied. In extreme instances these differences will be well marked, as when our particular house is near the border line between what we mean by "house" and what we mean by "shed", or "fortress." Individual instances thus brought within our experience continually modify our concept of what words imply. It is thus that words have obtained their meanings and change their meanings, changes which would not take place if concrete instances were in real identity with discrete propositions.

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Now our experience fails to provide us with any ndividual plant which is in identity with either of these *specific* figures, for they are founded upon a class and the former is an individual. The most we can hope for in botany is a fairly close approximation, or some clear distinction. Now all those logical results which spring from discrete propositions and end in concrete instances must be approximations to the ideal and cannot be in 'real' identity therewith. Hence approximation cannot be shut out of Logic however such exclusion may be asserted ; and if, to attain this end, we decide to exclude from Logic all deductive propositions, there will be litt'e left to argue about.

Under Sec. III, Dr. Mercier objects to traditional logic mainly on the ground that it excludes many results within the reach of Reason, and notably so by not following the process of analogy. He states * that his own position as to the sources of logical knowledge "may be thus explained", but the explanation which follows fails to touch upon the fundamental question of how we know that we know. If he maintains that knowledge comes from the analytical and synthetical comparison of one result of experience with other results of experience, then he is clearly arguing from one 'particular instance' to another. To whatever extent he may pursue this method of research, even if he accumulates evidence in a thousand cases, by such means he can never establish any general proposition. He can go just so far as his thousand particular instances take him—but no farther. To establish his proposition as universally true he must withstand the cross-examination of the 'objector general'. And this he does not demand.

He complains (p. 24) that other writers fail to define their terms, yet he follows their bad example. For instance, he writes legibly about the real world, real existence, and so forth, but does not always tell us in what this alleged reality consists. Lower down this same page he defines "real existence" as referring to "an external world which is the world of experience," presumably in the psychological sense. But however the psychologist may call this world "real," its "reality" is bounded by psychological research and outside such boundaries its "reality" becomes doubtful. † It is not the "real" world of Logic, Religion, or Philosophy. Now it appears that the author, by an unrecognised tour-de-force, has dragged the whole Karma of Psychology into the "real" world as known to Logicians. The first result of this is to produce a kind of pseudo-logic, a frightful pandemonium of apparent contradictions and cross purposes. Now it does not follow that the Author's system of reasoning is bad *ab initio*, or that it is more faulty than that of traditional or modern logic ; but it is clear that he should have begun his task by redrafting all definitions. Then we should know whether he was using words in a logical or in a psychological sense, or whether his basis of thought was

* Chapter XII.

† Davy warned us against mistaking experience for actuality.

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neither purely logical nor purely psychological. Not having done this he has brought confusion into Logic just in the same way as his pragmatic brethren have confused present-day philosophy by dragging in allegations as to "Will," "Motive," etc., founded on psychological experience.*

Now everything that is to be argued is already contained in that which is given or taken for granted. In definitions the conclusions are contained, and argument is more likely to obscure the content of definition than to elucidate it. Hence when a writer has correctly defined his axioms and terms his system is complete, but until he has done so all his propositions are surds. On page 366, our author makes this admission. He says—"difference, that appears to be difference of opinion about facts, is very often, unknown to the disputants, difference about the meaning of words; and no controversy can be useful or fertile, that is not preceded by a definition of the words to be used." This is well said, but why keep this jewel for the end of his book, when it should have come first and have been acted upon throughout? Coming where it does, it sounds like repentance for sins.

Let the psychologists therefore take courage and kindly define for us such terms as "Nature" and "Will".

Hindu logic had this advantage, that the definition of terms was referred to the contextual meaning of such words in the Holy Books. Their writers had to "show scripture" for the meanings upon which they wished to insist. Unfortunately European logicians have no such criterion. Hence we are left in the position that to be strictly logical, we must either define our terms and so leave nothing to argue about, or make no definitions and thus leave open no possibility for profitable discussion. †

On the other hand we must remember that although the word *Logic* conveys to us a definite and restricted meaning, yet there have been times and places wherein the word was used in a very general sense, far wider than that of Dr. Mercier. For instance, it meant *Inference* in its widest sense in the Nyaya Sutras of Gotama, and, according to Sayana, it also covered the Doctrine of Deeds which forms the crux of Jaimini's Purva Mimamsa. It is therefore arguable that Dr. Mercier is not only restoring to the art of logic its freedom of movement, but to the word itself a fuller meaning of which recent logicians had lost sight. Hence, if it is doubted whether his system can be properly called *Logic*, the criticism only amounts to this—that the modern usage of the word is against him. On the other hand it is obvious that "A new system of logic" must differ in some respect from existing systems, and will, presumably, transcend them to some extent.

* For instance, our author has his own meaning for "Induction." It is not the logician's meaning.

† The former course is not practicable in its entirety, for it would involve unending arguments. Hence a *media via* is necessary, and some measure of confusion is unavoidable.

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European logic purports to reason from allegation to allegation. It is not necessarily concerned with fact, much less with questions of relative or absolute reality. But it is claimed that if fact pertains to the premises it pertains also to the conclusions. Hence all kinds of propositions are admitted, provided only that they rest on definite allegations. There is a very close analogy between Logic and Accountancy for the accountant is only concerned in so devising his balance sheet that the result shall contain just the same actuality as did the "facts" laid before him. He is not called upon to verify the data supplied him. No! all he claims is that if he is supplied with facts, his result will be fact.

Both Logic and Accountancy eschew approximation and deal solely with fact or allegation. Hence Logic cannot admit the model proposition, nor will the Accountant make out his balance sheet on a series of hypotheses.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA.*

By Mr. HORACE WYNDHAM.

TO the enterprise of the Clarendon Press of Oxford is due in a series of six handsome volumes (others will follow) the fascinating story of the initiation of British commerce with India. This has been gathered principally from the various documents contained in the archives of the India Office, the Public Record Office, and the British Museum. The object of this series—which is edited by a well-known scholar, Mr. William Foster—is to render available the rich store of historical materials existing at the India Office, the Public Record office, the British museum (Department of MSS.) the Bombay Record office, &c. Each volume contains on an average about four hundred documents, calendared in such a manner as to provide free information on all points of interest. The more important passages are reproduced *in extenso* with the original spelling; while of the rest a careful extract is given. These records are of course indispensable to all students of the history of British enterprise in India or of the political and social conditions of that country under the Mogul Emperors. Moreover, written as they are, not by chance travellers but by merchants who had lived many years in the East, they contain authoritative information on all matters of commerce and manufactures, coinage, &c. There is also much that is of importance regarding the trade of other European Nations, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and Danes, and the intercourse between India and the neighbouring countries, especially Persia and Arabia. Each volume is provided with a map, an introduction, full notes and an Index. The first volume of

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The English Factories in India.—Vols I to VI (1618—1641). Edited by William Foster (Clarendon Press, Oxford.) Henry Frowde, London.

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the series carries the narrative from 1618 to 1621. Although it only deals with the events of these four years, it calendars no less than four hundred and sixty papers, and thus forms an invaluable mine of historical research. We shall analyse its contents to indicate the wealth of material comprised in the series.

In the month of January, 1618, when the story opens, the number of English factories in the dominions of the Great Mogul was but five, the settlements being those of Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Broach, and Surat. Some of the first agents in charge seem to have taken their duties lightly, for we read of one, John Browne, that he "wrote poetry in the intervals of business." It is to be feared that he was a better poet than a business man, for he permitted the accounts of his branch to get into confusion. Accusations of "evil living" and of private trading were also brought against him; but these he indignantly repudiated. The general control over all the factories at this time was exercised by Thomas Kerridge (at Surat), Thomas Rastell, and Giles James. The two, however, were in subordination to Sir Thomas Roe, His Majesty's Ambassador in India, who had been for this purpose expressly invested by the Company with plenary powers even in commercial matters.

Roe's embassy was a notable one. A strong man in every sense of the word, he applied himself unsparingly to remedying the many abuses he found rampant among the Company's servants, despite the bad health from which he suffered. He was also commissioned by King James himself to "ripen and prepare business" in Persia, and to conclude a treaty with the Shah. Accordingly he decided to remain at his post, although he wrote to the Court in London, "my employment is nothing but vexation and trouble; little honor; less profit." Where the commercial interests of the Company were concerned he occasionally adopted distinctly high-handed proceedings. Thus, in his instructions with respect to a certain trading voyage he peremptorily ordered the Captain to take possession by force of any junks if the occupants declined to do business with him. "This," he naively added, "will force them to understand the interests of commerce." No wonder, then, that under these conditions trade flourished so exceedingly. Among the many rules whose observance he insisted upon was one forbidding the factors to marry. Yet, he made an exception in favour of a certain employe. This, as may be imagined, created some ill feeling among the enforced celibates, and Roe was accordingly himself complained of and reported to the Board of Directors. He met the complaint by pronouncing its maker as "opiniated."

From time to time during Roe's embassy serious trouble manifested itself among not only the mercantile staff, but also among the ecclesiastical establishment attached to it, for these were days when the Company looked after the spiritual requirements of its representatives in the East, and accordingly maintained a corps of chaplains. These chaplains, however,

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were occasionally more partial to the loaves and fishes than to the proper administration of their calling. One such clerical black sheep, for example, gave rise to tremendous scandal by dressing himself up as a Moor, and paying improper attentions to three Englishwomen residing at the same station as himself. Thereupon an official wrote home to the Board a long letter in which he dilated upon the reverend gentleman's galantries. A notable passage runs as follows :—

"The strayed minister is since returned to his flock. I have pardoned his rebellious negligences, and ignorances, in hopes he will become a new man."

Fortunately for the morals of the settlement these back-slidings were not generally followed. At any rate, the pious example and strictly correct department of the Rev. Mr. Copland, a colleague of the erring minister, are frequently held up to admiration. His "virtuous life" and "sound doctrine" impressed themselves so favourably upon all with whom he came into contact that prior to his departure from India he succeeded in converting a native to Christianity. He brought him home in 1614 and persuaded the Company to educate him at their own expense. Shortly afterwards the youth was publicly baptized at St. Dioni's Backchurch, Fenchurch Street, receiving the name of Peter. A year later he returned to India, but his subsequent history is not known. It is thought, however, that he became a missionary.

As the direct outcome of Roe's embassy in the East trade followed the Flag to a pronounced extent. Very large profits were realised, sometimes each ship making 100 p. c. upon her cargo. A brisk demand sprang up among the natives for red coral from the Mediterranean, this commodity being in great request for necklaces and also being "much spent to burn with the dead." The Surat factors, accordingly, arranged for a special supply to be brought out to Bombay by the fleet sailing in 1617. This, however, led to dissensions among the local traders, who protested against any such importations by the Company's ships. "The merchants of Surat," wrote one of the factors in February 1619, "will not suffer it to be brought but by a strong hand." When, however, in spite of this warning the cargo arrived, considerable difficulty was experienced in landing it. The dispute lasted for some days, during which period the coral was warehoused. While it lay in the store the factors prepared a petition for the removal of the restrictions upon their trade which they presented to Shah Jahan. When His Highness held out no hope of doing anything of the sort they enlisted the powerful aid of Asaf Khan. This was successfully obtained, and a *farman* was granted authorising the sale.

A very interesting account is given by Mr. Foster of the rise and progress of the long drawn out commercial rivalry between England and Holland where the Indian market was concerned. About the year 1617 matters came to a head, owing to the high-handed actions of the Dutch merchants in seeking to exclude the Company's fleet from trading with the Bandas and the Moluccas.

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Thereupon a strong convoy was specially sent out from England to the scene of the dispute. The British ships met with a warm reception, and after the hostilities had continued for several months it was found that the Company had lost rather more than it had gained. Thereupon wiser counsels prevailed, and the English and Dutch East India Companies settled their differences amicably, and formed themselves into a combination for mutual protection against their common enemy, Spain and Portugal. The reconciliation, however, was only a temporary and a patched up one, and it broke out again with renewed vigour as soon as the danger threatening their mutual interests had been removed. Only the passage of years, indeed, sufficed to overcome it.

The modified and short lived partnership of England and Holland in the Far East commenced about the year 1620. Under terms of this agreement England was to have one-third of the trade in the Moluccas and one-half of the then exceedingly valuable Bantam pepper trade. Unfortunately, a spirit of discord manifested itself from the very outset almost. Richard Fursland, the senior British official, established his head-quarter at Batavia. As the territory, however, was claimed by the Dutch a series of wrangles promptly ensued. The two nations, indeed, only worked together on a couple of occasions. The first of these was when they dispatched a joint fleet to blockade the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast, in the autumn of 1821; and the second was when England was admitted to a share in the commerce of Pulicat, a fortified station on the Coromandel coast, at the time, nominally under the shadowy rule of the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagar. On the arrival of the English settlers at Pulicat the former factory at Petapoli was dissolved, it being considered unnecessary to maintain two separate branches for the purchase of the same goods.

A number of interesting letters dealing with the Masulipatam settlement are included in the volume. From one of these it appears that the factor in charge was recalled in the year 1621 for alleged participation in private trading, a little weakness to which a good many officials at that time were prone, despite the stringent rules to the contrary. Other correspondence of the period relates to the discovery of a diamond mine at Kollur. There is also an account of adventures of a young English woman, "a maid about 24', who came out to India on board a Danish vessel, and afterwards escaped in a native boat to Pulicat, "where she was honestly married to the preacher of the fort." Mention of this reminds us of the fact that at this time Denmark was also endeavouring to obtain some share of the trade in these quarters. The Danish East India Company, founded in 1616, did not, however, last long. After effecting a landing in Ceylon, the commander of the Danish convoy thought it advisable to take his ship to India. Here, with the co-operation of the Mayak he obtained in 1620, the formal cession of the port of the Tranquebar. He then returned to Ceylon, to embark the party he had left there, and sailed for Copenhagen. Of the other two vessels in the convoy one was captured by the Portuguese and the other was wrecked off Trincomalee.

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For the rest, it only remains to be said that this comprehensive volume abounds in valuable details respecting the economic state of India at the period to which it relates. The various products, commercial centres, and system of coinage, etc., are all enlarged upon. The general condition of the country is also described at length, and a good deal is said about the weakness of the Government and the corruption of the local officials. Against this, however, evidence is adduced on the part of several rulers to administer justice and serve the interests of all classes under them. Sir Thomas Roe, for example, the English Ambassador in India, makes the emphatic declaration that "their justice is generally good to strangers" and that many of the troubles of which the English trader complained were caused by their own actions. Also it appears that a spirit of the widest religious tolerance prevailed, and that there is no evidence of anybody being persecuted on account of his faith. Such a statement as this could not have been fairly made of any European country at the time. Hence it abundantly redounds to the credit of India.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Whitaker's Almanack for 1913. Edited by Joseph Whitaker, F. S. A., (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.* Abridged edition 1*s.*

Hazell's Annual for 1913. Edited by Hammond Hall. (Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., 52 Long Acre, London.) Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

The International Whitaker (12 Warwick Lane, London). Price 2*s.* for 1913.

The Daily Mail Year-Book for 1913. (The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) Price 6*d.*

Who's Who for 1913. (Price 10*s.* 6*d.*) and *Who's Who Year—Book*, 1913 (Price 1*s.*) (Adam & Charles Black, Soho Square, London).

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage for 1913. (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Literary Year-Book and Bookman's Directory for 1913. (John Dusley, Ld., London) Price 5*s.*

The Writer's and Artists' Year-Book for 1913. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) Price 1*s.*

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory for 1913. Edited by G. E. Mitton, (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, Price 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

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Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. V. (T. & T. Clark, 38, George Street, Edinburgh) 1912. Price £1. 8*s*.

Books that Count. A Dictionary of Standard Books. Edited by W. Forbes Gray. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) 1913. Price 5*s*.

The Karachi Hand-Book for 1913. ("The Sind Gazette," Office, Karachi) 1913. Price Rs. 4.

WHITAKER'S *Almanack* and *Hazell's Annual* are *par excellence* "books of reference," in the popular sense of the term. The *Almanack*—of which the present issue is the forty-fifth annual edition—contains "an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, a vast amount of information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations of the world, with special reference to the British Empire and the United States"; while the *Annual*—which is in its twenty-eighth year of issue—is "a record of the men and movements of the time" and each of the books is furnished with a full index. These extracts from the explanatory titles will fairly convey to the reader the scope and object of the two publications. Both books deal largely with statistics, with perhaps this difference that while *Whitaker's Almanack* is a statistical book both in intention and achievement, *Hazell's Annual* is not so frankly statistical but professedly readable. The difference between the two works might be brought out by saying that, whereas *Whitaker's* deals with statistics only, *Hazell's Annual* handles statistical facts. which are put in a fairly readable form. Both books exhibit on the part of their editors vast industry, limitless patience, and an admirable spirit of collation and comparison. It is a different thing, of course, to say that no such book can claim absolute accuracy. But with *Whitaker* and *Hazell* on his bookshelf—as the two supplement each other—no public man or publicist can have any excuse for pleading ignorance of, or making misleading statements on, any of the topics of the day. The Indian sections of both the books have been improved in the light of the criticism offered by us in our notices of the previous years' editions, yet some minor mistakes remain. Making allowance, however, for such mistakes in the Indian sections—mistakes inevitable in the case of writers gathering materials from administration reports and blue-books, without much personal knowledge of India—the bulk of the information contained in both the books is extremely accurate and trustworthy, and they are, on the whole, works of reference of striking merits and exceptional excellence, which no student of current events can possibly do without. The present editions of both teem with thoroughly up-to-date and most valuable information on almost every current topic of popular interest. The *International Whitaker*, which is an entirely new publication fittingly described as a statistical, historical, geographical and commercial handbook for all nations, more especially designed for the two hundred

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million English-reading people of the world. Prepared by the publishers of the world-famous annual, *the International Whitaker* supplements, but does not supersede, *Whitaker's Almanack*. The contents are made up of four parts, the first of which deals with the relative functions of the components of the universe; the second with a general description of the continents; the third with the nations of the world and the last gives a list of British and American representatives abroad. The contents of the *International Whitaker* are thus specially adapted to the requirements of publicists in India and it should have a large sale in this country.

II.

To those who cannot afford to purchase any of the books of reference noticed above, might be cordially commended the *Daily Mail Year-Book* "the little red book," as it calls itself. Its explanatory title is :—"A Hand-Book to all the Questions of the Day," and it is now in the thirteenth year of its publication. The *Daily Mail Year-Book* is certainly one of the most marvellous compendiums of general and statistical information, which can be had at the low price of six pence. It covers a large range of subjects, and each section of it is so full of information, alike interesting and instructive, that every one who will dip into it will materially add to his stock of useful knowledge. Our only complaint against the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is that it does not pay adequate attention to the fortunes of the Indian Empire and the space allotted to Indian subjects is scarcely commensurate with the importance of India as a factor in the British Empire. We hope that in its next issue the editor will see his way to materially expand the Indian section, so that it may be an exhaustive repertory of sound and useful information about the great British-Indian Empire.

III.

Who's Who and *Who's Who Year-Book*, as their names indicate, practically constitute one work in two separate parts. The *Year-Book* consists of a series of useful tables, so well-arranged that the information sought can literally be seen at a glance, and compries much original matter, not accessible in even more expensive works of reference. It is a most useful and handy compendium of general information and a necessary adjunct to the great biographical annual—*Who's Who*—from which it takes its name. *Who's Who* is *the* annual dictionary of contemporary biography. It is a biographical manual briefly recording all that is worth knowing of living celebrities. Making allowance for omissions and deficiencies inevitable in a work of this kind, *Who's Who* is, beyond all doubt, the best and the most compendious annual biographical directory of the world's prominent persons in all walks of life and is, as such, a most valuable and absolutely indispensable work of reference. Men and women of the British and Irish nationality naturally predominate, but the leading men and women of note of the Continental, American and Australian countries also find a place in its pages. India, however, cannot be said to be adequately represented. Even in the sketches

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of the few Indians whose names appear, there is a "sense of disproportion"—Indian noblemen and titled men being lionised (such, for instance, as is the case in Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*) at the expense of distinguished Indian public men and leaders, the vast majority of whom are conspicuous by their absence in *Who's Who*. We hope that the usefulness of the next edition will be materially increased by a serious attempt being made to furnish sketches of the distinguished Indians—the leaders of public opinion in the different provinces.

IV

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage is, if we many say so, a *Who's Who*, on a small scale, of peers, baronets, knights and companions of the British Empire. There are many bulky publications on the subject, two of the best-known being those of Burke and Debrett. But for ready reference and every-day use in India, *Whitakers Peerage* fully serves the purpose. Its arrangement is simple, its statements are, on the whole accurate, and it gives just the information about peers, baronets and companions, that an Anglo-Indian or Indian publicist would ordinarily require. Its handy size, neat printing, excellent get-up and, above all, its very moderate price, are all strong recommendations in its favour, and it should find a place on the book-shelf of every publicist in India. The usefulness of the book to seekers after knowledge in this country, is enhanced by its including sketches of the knights and companions of the Indian Orders, as also by supplying information about what are infelicitously called "Native Indian" titles, and a glossary of Indian words bearing on the subject.

V

The next two books on our list are works of reference for literary persons, as they deal with the world of literature and journalism. The *Literary Year-Book* is now in its seventeenth year of issue and it has long been acknowledged to have supplied a real want. It gives a literary calendar, an exhaustive list of contemporary authors and their chief works, a list of literary agents, typists and press-cutting agencies, summary of the laws of copy-right, a "table of royalties" for the benefit of authors who adopt the method of payment called "royalties," a list of leading British, Continental and American publishers and booksellers, lists of periodical publications with contributors' guide—one alphabetical and the other classified according to the subject-matter of the contents of the periodicals—a list of learned societies all over the world, a list of the world's principal libraries and, lastly, technical information about the production of books. A "classified list of publishers" is a new and useful feature. It would thus be seen that the *Literary Year-Book* is an indispensable *vade-mecum* for all persons connected with the press or devoted to literary pursuits. The *Literary Year-Book* is, so to say, a book-man's directory, on a large-scale, and it may fitly be designated the "Book-man's Manual." In the preface to the current edition, there is an interesting

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account of last year's important events in the journalistic and literary world. We are glad to find that the editor has been able to expand the section devoted to Indian journals and newspapers. This has materially enhanced the value of the book, as a work of reference, to seekers after information about Indian periodicals. We notice with pleasure that the editor has again appended in the present issue a complete classified list of the various series of cheap reprints of classics which have been so prominent a feature of the publishing trade during the last few years. We are glad to notice that the list has been made a permanent feature of the *Literary Year-Book* and trust it will be revised from year to year and kept up-to-date. The list is of great value to all book-lovers, but it will be particularly appreciated in India—educated Indians, as a class, being too poor to purchase expensive editions.

The *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book* in a way supplements the *Literary Year-Book*. It contains a large number of addresses of periodical publications to which manuscripts may be sent, as also an indication of the contribution that each particular publication requires, besides all such general information as would facilitate the placing of literary work. In the list of journals mentioned, special attention is drawn to all details of importance—such as the length of manuscripts likely to be accepted, the kind and quality of matter suitable and the style of illustration generally employed. The book also supplies the want of artists who, though working with pen and brush, desire acceptance of their output in magazines. It is thus a very useful little book, the information in which, though necessarily brief, is of great utility to all connected with the press or literature. It would largely increase the value of the book as a work of reference, if the editor could see his way to devote—like the *Literary Year-Book*—a special section to Indian periodicals.

VI.

The *Englishmwoman's Year-Book and Directory* is now in its thirty-second year of publication and is too well-established a favourite with those for whom it caters to need the reviewer's commendation. It is divided into several sections grouped under various headings. Each of these sections is comprehensively dealt with and the information brought together by the editor is valuable and interesting. In India, the book will be found to be very useful not only by Anglo-Indian ladies, but also by social reformers and publicists interested in questions concerning "women's cause," of which it is an encyclopædic record. The present edition has been completely revised and re-arranged and, with a view to facilitate reference, many new headings and a wide system of cross-references have been introduced and the index appreciably enlarged.

VII.

We welcome the fifth volume of Dr. Hasting's monumental work of reference, the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. The book was originally planned to be completed in ten volumes, but as the one under notice takes us only as far as Fichte, it is not likely that the work would comprise less than

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twenty volumes. This is due to the plan and scope of the book having been conceived and carried on on most comprehensive lines. While principally dealing with Religion and Ethics, almost all the philosophical sciences are brought under survey, some of which having but a remote connection with Theology or Morality. Of course, this, if anything, is erring on the right side. For the rest, we have little to add to our highly appreciative reviews of the preceding four volumes, in noticing which we characterised the merits of this publication. The present volume fully sustains the very high reputation acquired by this work for scholarships, lucidity of exposition and impartiality. We once again congratulate the talented editor on his industry and resourcefulness and the publishers on their enterprise.

VIII.

In his *Books that Count*, Mr. Forbes Gray has made a very useful contribution to general bibliography, which will be found invaluable by readers in search of information on the latest and best works in English on almost all subjects. It is a classified dictionary (in 14 sections) of some 5,500 works including 300 of those that have appeared in the last three years and its survey includes (1) only books that are in English (together with outstanding foreign books, of which good translations exist) ; (2) that present concisely, intelligently, and authoritatively the general aspects of the subjects with which they deal ; and (3) that are thoroughly modern in aim and outlook, easily accessible and purchasable at a moderate price. The arrangements throughout, with a view to facilitate reference, is alphabetical and each section is subdivided so as to enable the reader to find most readily the best books on any branch of a given subject. Even more useful than the arrangement is the feature supplying brief but expository characterisations of every book mentioned. These descriptvie notes are a striking and valuable feature of the book. There are also two full indices, one of authors and the other of titles, with a detailed table of contents. Altogether the work is both authoritative and comprehensive and we trust the publishers will bring out revised and corrected editions of it annually.

IX.

If we may believe the compilers of the *Karachi Handbook* for 1913, the capital of Sindh is the hub of the universe, at any rate of the old world. Such a place surely deserves an annual memorial and it is now available in the volume under notice, which is compact tome extending to some 400 pages of well-printed and excellently—illustrated matter, giving the most detailed information about the past and present condition of Karachi. The book is a successful attempt at combining the features of an encyclopœdia, a gazateer, and a guide-book in one. No resident in Karachi or Sindh or for the matter of that any one interested in the fortunes or progress of that rising port can do without this book. It will also be found invaluable by visitors to Karachi. In the next edition the compilers will do well to eschew the use of the word "native" for "Indian."

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THE OPEN FORUM.

CRITICISMS, DISCUSSIONS AND COMMENTS.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR AFGHANISTAN.

By "AN AFGHAN"

THE article which "Durrani" has contributed on the above subject is bristling with paradoxical views. One of the most startling is that Islam is opposed to a constitutional form of government. In my humble opinion Islam could neither be in favour nor against such a Government—at least in its modern sense—for the simple reason that representative form of government (in the present acceptance of the term) was not known in the days of the Prophet.

(2) Durrani's next thesis that the Afghan is brought up in thraldom and is therefore incapable of constitutional government is also not very near the mark. Whatever may be the attitude of an average Afghan to his village elder and to the Amir, as to an outsider he is as stiff-necked as any one in the East or even in the West can be. He has not been lacking in his love for his country and that is a great asset in the future political progress of the country.

(3) The writer has utilised 'Turkey' and 'Persia' to show what a free constitutional government has been. But these nations have not been given a fair chance—owing to their contiguity to their powerful Western neighbours—and it is distance which has contributed a good deal to the comparative immunity of Japan and China.

(4) The ways and means suggested by Durrani to bring about in Afghanistan what he calls a "reformed and civilised absolutism" are not very happy or pregnant of good. He suggests a Council of State to curb the Amir. A smaller replica of the same to keep the Governors in order, and other councils here and there to establish what may be called Council Government as opposed to Government by Parliament. I am afraid the writer has fallen into the very mistake which he at the outset was very careful to avoid, *viz.*, that of copying the mere forms of Government of another country which according to him has been the cause of the ruin of Eastern countries.

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Council Government is certainly a great feature of the Government of India. But the vital part of that Government is neither the Executive Council nor the Legislative Council but away in the background the District Law Court. It is the reign of Law before which high or low, proud or humble, rich or poor, are all alike, which secures to the husbandman the fruit of his industry and to the trader his hard-earned gains, which constitutes the truly important wheel in the machinery of Indian Government. The next great feature of this Government is the freedom of the Press, the free expression of opinion by the subject on all matters political, social or moral. It is this which keeps the whole fabric of society and government in healthful, vigorous action. Next after this is the enlightenment of the people by means of education and then bringing them together by easy and safe means of communication. Without these essentials a 'council' Government in Afghanistan or in any oriental country or state would be more or less a farce. If Afghanstan is to advance the preliminary essentials are good laws, and independent judiciary and the establishment of schools all over the country. Then other things will come about automatically.

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LERUT REGION.

Date.

ATEMENT

Page No.

...ing - Cash		Earning Recoverable		TOTAL	Earning per Kilometer on Earning K. meterage	Remar
y gage s. P.	By Passengers Rs. P.	By Luggage Rs. P.	By Passengers Rs. P.	Earning Rs. P.	Rs. P.	

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U.P. GOVT. ROA

DAILY VEHICLE

Buses No.	Name of Route		KILOMETERAGE					No. of Single Trip	Consumption			Average	P
	From	To	Earning	Dead	Relief	Deptt.	Total		M. Oil	D. Oil	Petrol		

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